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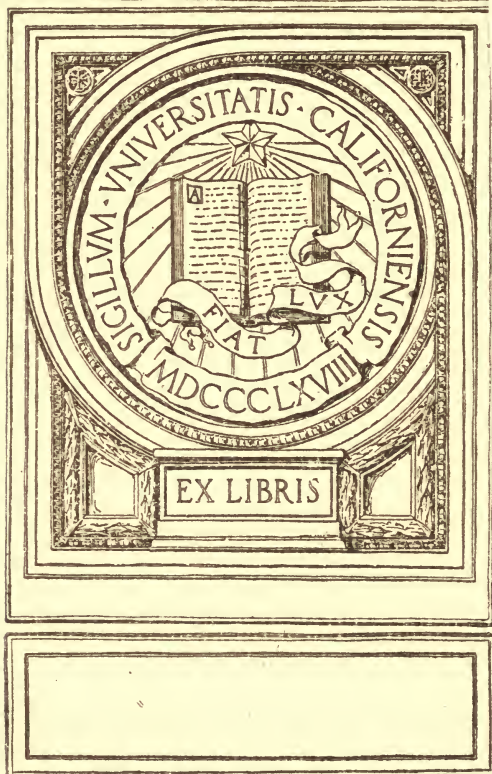
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*History of The Kansa or
Kaw Indians, A Famous
Old Santa Fe Trail
Crossing, and The
Story of Padilla*

By George P. Morehouse

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The KANSA OR KAW INDIANS
AND THEIR HISTORY,

AND

The Story of Padilla.

By

GEORGE P. MOREHOUSE.



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WAH-MOH-O-E-KE,
the second signer of the last treaty.

WAH-SHUN-GAH,
the last chief of the Kansa.

HISTORY OF THE KANSA OR KAW INDIANS.

Address by GEORGE P. MOREHOUSE,¹ of Topeka, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-first annual meeting, December 4, 1906.

ANYTHING pertaining to the Indian tribe that gave a name to our commonwealth and to the largest river and city within its borders will always have a peculiar interest to all true Kansans and to those who are ever eager to know more about the early history of the "Sunflower" state.

The majority of the tribes resident in Kansas during the past century were immigrants, brought here from Eastern states within the memory of those now living—the remnants of nations whose important history took place on the other side of the Mississippi river. These immigrant tribes never had that strong attachment for their new home they would have possessed had they been to the manor born.

Not so with the Kansa nation. Its earliest recorded accounts represent the tribe as owner of most of that imperial pasture now called Kansas. Here the Kansa were born, had lived, acted and passed on for many generations; here they had hunted, fished and fought; here was their home, with all the sacred associations of home; and though an Indian home, what an empire to these first native sons of Kansas! Within this wonderful prairie domain they had experienced the high fervor of victorious conquest, and anon the bitterness of disastrous defeat. Its ample sustaining resources were on every hand—the secrets of nature, from the wooded streams and rich bottom-lands of the Missouri border to the vast treeless areas of the great plains, all teeming with game of every character, were to them revealed as an inspiration and an open book.

"Look now abroad—another race has filled
These populous borders. Wide the wood recedes,
And towns shoot up and fertile realms are tilled—
The land is full of harvests and green meads."

The first recorded mention of the Kansa nation is found in the account of the explorations of Juan de Oñate, who met them on our plains in 1601, in his attempt to reach, as Coronado did in 1541, the land of the Quiviras. Oñate had first colonized New Mexico and settled many valleys of that Spanish province with the 130 families and 400 soldiers accompanying him, and the many immigrants that followed. Farms were cultivated, towns builded, convents established, and civilization was thus brought to New Mexico, where with little change it exists to-day. After gaining the friendship of the native Indians, Oñate became fired with other ambitions, other fields to conquer. Remembering that Coronado had penetrated far to the northeast only sixty years before, and had crossed the plains to the noted Quivira—what more daring and inviting field could be presented?

With a picked company of eighty soldiers, a large number of armed Indians, with their bows, arrows and spears, several guides and two friars, and a full equipment for either peace or war, this pioneer pageant marched eastward and was soon in the heart of the buffalo country. Here, as it has

NOTE 1.—Biography in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 137.

been said, "They marched, as Coronado had marched more than a half-century before, over the great plains toward the east, finding the same clear atmosphere, the same unvarying prairie, the same grapes and plums, the same enormous herds of buffalo, the same wandering tribes of Indians, which had no doubt been here from time immemorial." Finally they came to hills and bluffs, and passed along creeks, rivers and valleys where grew the mulberry, grape and plum; and, having traveled over 200 leagues, they were doubtless in the heart of what is now the eastern half of the state of Kansas. Here they met the tribe of Indians they called the Escansagues² (Kansa), a wild and powerful tribe, who were out on their annual raid to plunder the cultivated country of the Quivirans. It seems that there was great enmity between these tribes at that period, and may it not be that this answers the question, "What became of the Quivirans?"—that the more peacefully inclined Quivirans were finally crushed between the upper and nether millstones—the Escansagues on the east and the Apaches and Paducahs on the west.

Oñate found these marauding ancestors of the Kansa bent upon destroying the Quivirans, who at that time lived along a valley close to their cultivated fields. According to Professor Brower and others, their home was on the Smoky Hill and Kansas rivers, in the neighborhood of the present Junction City, though some locate Quivira on the Missouri river, farther to the northeast.

There arose some difficulty between the sons of Spain and their new acquaintances, and it seems that the Franciscan friars with Oñate were determined to teach the Escansagues a lesson, not to make further raids upon the more docile Quivirans. It was surely heroic treatment, for it is said that 1000 Escansagues were slain. This seems incredible, and it must be remembered that the old Spanish writers used the term "thousand" in rather a careless manner, when describing their conquests. However, this friendly act established a strong attachment between the dwellers of Quivira and the Spanish, for in a few years an army of 800 Quivirans appeared at the gates of old Santa Fe to solicit further aid in fighting their enemies. After this first recorded battle with the Kansa, Oñate continued on and approached the city or villages of the Quivirans, situated on the bank of a large river, and soon entered into a perpetual treaty of peace and friendship with them.

To us the most interesting feature of this early expedition is that it came in contact with the Kansa Indians.

What an awe-inspiring sight this spectacular pageant must have been to them, as it moved across their favorite hunting-grounds! What a scene of thrilling beauty greeted these adventurers, as they passed over these limitless plains and along the margins of the wooded streams on that memorable trip 300 years ago!

While there is some doubt as to the exact location of Quivira—whether it was in the Kaw valley or on the Missouri—in either event it must have been in the region of the hunting-grounds and habitat of the Kansa nation, when first visited a hundred years later by French explorers.

Oñate says that the Escansagues and the Quivirans were hereditary ene-

NOTE 2.—"If the 'Escansagues' or 'Excanjaques' are identical with the Kansa, and there is every reason for believing them to be the same, then the first mention of the tribe was made in 1599, by Juan de Oñate, who encountered them on an expedition to find the 'Quivira' of Coronado in the region of the great plains."—F. W. Hodge, in Brower's *Missouri River*, 1897, p. 165.

mies. Professor Dunbar presents convincing proof that the Quivirans were the early Pawnees. This would seem to add more evidence to prove the old and well-known saying that the Kansa and Pawnees were enemies from time immemorial. One of the old traditional questions handed down in the Kansa nation to modern times, and a question that was first asked of a returning hunting or war party, was "Pah-ne-its-es-skah?" "Did you kill a Pawnee?"

According to their language and traditions,³ many hundreds of years ago the five tribes, Kansa, Osage, Omaha, Ponka and Kwapa, were one people, and lived along the Wabash and far up the Ohio. There was even a tradition that their home at one time was near the shores of "the sea of the rising sun," from whence came the mysterious sacred shells of the tribe. For some reason they worked westward, probably pressed by the encroachment of superior forces. Coming to the mouth of the Ohio, there was a separation. Those going down the Mississippi took the name Kwapa, or *down-stream people*, while those going up the river were called Omaha, or *up-stream people*. As De Soto found the Kwapa, also known as "Akansa," in 1541 as a distinct tribe, this division took place prior to that date, and probably prior to the year 1500. The up-stream people, of which the Kansa formed a part, reaching the Missouri, followed up that stream. Another division then took place, the Omaha and Ponka passing far to the north and northwest—the Omaha gathering south of the Missouri near the mouth of the Platte, and the Ponka locating toward the Black Hills.

The Osage and Kansa being left behind, the former passed up the stream which took their name, and the Kansa, coming to the junction of the Missouri and the Kansas rivers, established themselves probably at a permanent settlement within the forks, and claimed the Kansas valley as their heritage. At least, the stream very early acquired their name. It is supposed that subsequently the tribe continued to move up the Missouri, and had reached its most northern settlement at the mouth of Independence creek, now Doniphan county, Kansas, prior to 1724, when visited by Bourgmont. In 1757, though still residing in part on the Missouri, they had established themselves in at least one village upon the Kaw. About the time of the Revolution they had entirely abandoned the Missouri. Their life upon the historic Kansas river extended until 1847, when they were moved to a reservation in the Neosho valley near Council Grove. Here they lived until the year 1873, when they went to their present home in the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). During their early history the Kansa were a powerful tribe, both in numbers and in influence. At present (1907) they number only 193 allotted members, of whom but 70 are full-bloods.

MONCACHTAPÉ, THE INTERPRETER.⁴

Moncachtapé (one who destroys obstacles and overcomes fatigues) was a strange but capable character, and was one of the first to visit and tell anything about the Kansa Indians to the outside world.

Moncacht was a Yazoo Indian, with possibly French blood in his veins. Some time about 1700, he traversed the continent from ocean to ocean, visiting

NOTE 3. —Fifteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, page 191.

NOTE 4. —Dumont's *Memoires sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, vol. 2, p. 246; *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, Le Page du Pratz; *Proceedings of Literary and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 1829; *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 1881; Windsor's *Mississippi Basin*, pp. 210-213.

numerous Indian tribes and learning their languages. It seems that he desired information regarding the origin of his race, and went from tribe to tribe in his search. At first, he passed to the east, thinking the cradle of the race was toward the rising sun. He traveled until he came to the lower lake regions and learned of the falls of Niagara and the wonderful high tides of the Bay of Fundy. Afterward he traversed the far West, passing along the Ohio and Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, which streams he minutely described. Following the Missouri river, he came to the Missouri Indian nation, and, staying with them all of one winter, learned their language. When spring opened he went further up that stream till he came to the great village of the Canzès, near the present site of Doniphan, Atchison county, Kansas, and stopped for some time. From these Indians he first learned of the great divide, beyond which was a river that flowed toward the west, supposed to be the Columbia. Continuing his journey, Moncacht passed down that stream to the sea, where he saw a strange ship manned by strange people, which had come to those shores for cargoes. After wandering for five years, he returned to the Mississippi valley and his home near the Gulf of Mexico. He was known as "The Interpreter," from his ability to acquire different Indian languages, learning from one tribe something of the language of the next one to be visited.

THE FRENCH AND THE KANSA.

The French association with the Kansa nation, while not as early and spectacular as that of the Spanish, was altogether more peaceful and far-reaching.

It seems that Frenchmen, whether explorers, traders, trappers or missionaries, have been more fortunate in their intercourse with the American Indian than have the other nations. It would have been much better for the general welfare of both races had the entire management of Indian affairs from the first been in the hands of Frenchmen. There seems to be something in the general composition of the French nature, whether trader or priest—some capacity—which always reaches the Indian and secures his highest confidence.

The brightest spots through three centuries of dishonor in our country's dealing with the Indian have been the successful and honorable social and business relations of the French with these dusky children of the forest and plain, and especially the self-sacrificing services in their behalf of the French missionaries of the Cross. The French authorities made early attempts to spread missions among the Western Indians with whom they came in contact.

It is supposed that the French first visited the Kansa, in 1705, as Maj. Amos Stoddard says that, failing in attempted settlements on the upper Mississippi, they turned their attention to the Missouri river, which they ascended to its mouth by 1705, where they met with a welcome reception from the Indians.⁵

As an instance of the great influence the French had over the Indians, the following is interesting: Chtoka, alias Wet Stone, a Little Osage, told Pike, during his visit to that tribe in 1806, that he was at Braddock's defeat in 1755, with all the warriors who could be spared from both villages. It seems that the Indians were engaged by Mr. McCartie, who commanded at Fort Chartres, and he furnished them with powder and ball. The place of

rendezvous was near a lake and a large fall (Niagara). It seems that the Kansa Indians were also on the ground with a select band of warriors to assist the French, but arrived just at the close of the fight. These Indians from beyond the Mississippi had many hardships in returning to their distant homes, and were gone seven months, or till the inclemency of the following winter, and were driven to eat their horses upon the return trip.⁶

LIEUTENANT PIKE AND THE KANSA.

FIRST TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THIS TRIBE.

After the Louisiana purchase of 1803, the United States desired to open up at once friendly relations with the numerous Indian nations which occupied that new possession. It was the desire of the government to win and hold the favor of these children of the plains to the same degree of influence held by the French.

One of the leading objects of the Pike expedition of 1806 was to meet these tribes and bring about peace between certain warring nations. This would more fully strengthen the sway of the United States in the interior and lessen the danger of Spanish encroachments upon the newly acquired and unprotected frontier.

When Pike visited the Osage villages on his outward trip he found them at war with the "Kans," and it was with difficulty that he induced some of them to go with him to guide the expedition to the Pawnee republic in northern Kansas. A number consented, but they took him in a roundabout way, fully 100 miles further than necessary, because, as Pike says, of their fear of their enemies, the Kans.

After the command reached the Pawnee village a dozen "Kans" came into the camp, and Pike induced two of them to accompany the expedition.

Pike learned that the Spanish military force, which had visited the Pawnees a few weeks prior to his arrival, had instructions to treat with the Kansa nation, as well as other tribes, and was provided with medals, commissions and mules for each one; but it seems that they treated only with the Pawnees. It was fortunate that Lieutenant Malgares did not visit the Kansa, for notwithstanding their great loyalty to the French, they might have been moved by the gifts and overtures of these explorers from the far Southwest and forgotten the disastrous meeting with Oñate. The Kansa were always true to the French, never liking the Spanish, and for the most part were loyal to American interests.

On the 28th day of September, 1806, Pike induced his new-found Kansa friends to go into a treaty council with him and with the Osages of his party, and to enter into an agreement of peace and friendship between the tribes and with the United States. Pike says (September 28, 1806): "I effected a meeting at this place [Pawnee republic] between a few Kans and Osages, who smoked the pipe of peace and buried the hatchet, agreeably to the wishes of their great father; in consequence of which a Kans has marched for the Osage nation, and some of the latter propose to accompany the former to their village. Whether this good understanding will be permanent I will not take on me to determine, but at least a temporary good effect has succeeded."

It may be stated now, after 100 years, that Pike's mediation did succeed,

for it made friends between these two tribes, which has continued to the present. Prior to 1806 the Kansa and Osages had been at war for many years—possibly since their separation from each other generations before, when they differed and became two distinct nations.

The next day was Pike's memorable council day with the Pawnees, when he required them to pull down the Spanish colors and raise the stars and stripes. The Kansa representatives were there and helped along the ceremonies, and were highly pleased when the American banner went up. The Kansa friends openly professed to be under American protection, which doubtless encouraged the Pawnees in their change, and in many other ways assisted Pike by advice as to the intentions of the Pawnees.

During Pike's time, and for many years, the Kansa nation had a high reputation for the skill and bravery of its warriors, and it seems remarkable that they were able to hold their own, surrounded as they were by so many powerful tribes greater in point of number, if not in prowess, when compared with the smaller Kansa nation.

Pike bears deserved tribute to their traits of bravery when he says: "In war they are yet more courageous than their Osage brethren; being, although not more than one-third of their number, their most dreaded enemies, and frequently making the Pawnees tremble."

I notice that Pike and other writers, in enumerating Indian tribes, where mention is made of the Kansa nation, often places it at the head of the list. Being rather a small nation as compared with the Sioux and Pawnees, who pressed them on the north, and the great plains tribes, continually beating them back from the best buffalo-hunting grounds, it is remarkable that they held their own for so long a time. The Kansa seldom initiated war just for the love of fighting. During the last century of their active tribal life they usually fought on the defensive. They were not slow to defend themselves when attacked, and on their annual hunting trips, when small parties of their braves were often assailed by much larger forces, it was frequently said that "a handful of the Kansa on the plains, by their skilful defensive manoeuvres, could put to flight several times their number of enemies." Their custom of fearlessly going far out on the plains in small hunting parties, where they often encountered larger bands of the fiercest plains Indians, often excited surprise and wonder from both white man and Indian. Some Indians wantonly killed game to deprive others of its use. This the Kansa never did, killing only enough for their own use and a moderate amount to sell, when there was a market.

THE NAME OF THE TRIBE, THE KANSA—ITS SOURCE.

During the past 300 years, since the name was first written, there have been numerous methods of spelling the designation of this tribe—the Kansa. To follow the many changes through which the word has passed to its present form would, within itself, be an interesting study. Probably no historic name in America has gone through so many changes, with so frequent variation, on maps and in books. In the ninth volume of the *Kansas Historical Collections*, Professor Hay's article on the name *Kansas*, prepared in 1882, gives twenty-four ways of spelling the word. The editors of volume 9, in a foot-note, add some twenty additional forms, and for several years past I have been gathering similar data coupled with the authority for the same. At present, 1907, I have all of the forty-four forms above mentioned

and twice as many beside, or, in all, over 125 ways used in the past to spell the name designating this tribe of Indians, the verbal forerunners of the word Kansas. At some future time I will prepare an article on this subject, giving these names and the authorities using them, but at present will only note some of the more important and marked features.

For the initial, we find *C* and *K* and *Qu*; using *a* or *o* for the first vowel, and with or without the final *s* in the singular. The following curious double plurals are noticed: *ces*, *cez*, *ses*, *sez*, and *sais*. There are several adjective forms, like *Kanzan*, *Canzan*, *Kanzon*, *Canzon*, etc. Among the simplest forms of the word are *Kan*, *Kaw*, *Can*, *Caw*, and then the longer forms, *Kantha*, *Kansies*, *Kancez*, *Ka-anzou*, *Kanissi*, and many others beginning with *K*; then we note the many odd forms beginning with *C*, as *Canceze*, *Canchez*, *Canceas*, *Canceys*, *Cañses*, etc. Among the most peculiar forms are *Quans*, *Kensier*, *Caugh*, while the most complicated are *Escansaques*, *Excanjaques*, *Escanxaques* and *Excansaquex*.

But seeing that I have reached the stage of having to spell Kansas with *j*, *q*, *u*, *x*, and *z*, I will stop, fearing it might hinder President Roosevelt, who is interested in simplified spelling. While he has been trying to decide the preferable of two ways of spelling certain words, a Kansan is exploiting over 125 ways of spelling the name of one of his favorite Western states.

In this article I will refer to the tribe as the "Kansa." Although they were often and are still called the Kaw, Kansa is preferable, and has been adopted by the Bureau of American Ethnology. It seems to harmonize more in sound with a majority of the forms of the word used by the early writers in mentioning the nation.

From whence comes this word Kansa and what is its signification? Most historians have stated that it was an Indian word of doubtful meaning; others have attributed to the word meanings which are clearly erroneous. Richardson, in *Beyond the Mississippi*, 1857, says that it signifies smoky, and several historians, like Holloway, have followed this manifest error. The Kansa word for smoke and smoky is *shu-jeh*, and I know of no Indian word regarding smoke that resembles in the slightest the word Kansa. Dorsey, an authority on Siouan languages, says the word "refers to winds," or wind people, but that its exact meaning is not known.⁷

For several years I have given this question considerable attention, and after examining numerous sources of information, believe that I have discovered the true source of the word Kansa and arrived at its real meaning. The trouble has been that the writers regarding this tribe and its name have only gone back to the records of the French explorers, traders and trappers who visited them, and have tried to translate the word Kansa as if it was either an Indian or a French word.

While it is true that the French traders used the name Kaw or Kâh for designating this tribe, they had nothing to do with originating the word

NOTE 7.—"So far as can be determined the name of Kansa refers to 'winds,' but the full definition is unknown."—F. W. Hodge, in *Brower's Missouri River*, 1897, p. 165. "The name of the Kansas river is doubtless derived from the Kansas Indians who lived on that stream. They were often called 'Kaws,' and the river in an early day was called Kaw river. The Iowas called the Indians *Kantha*, which means swift. Their own (the Kansas Indians) mode of pronouncing that word would be *Ka-za*, and this they called themselves, but whether they had another name I am unable to say. Most Indians speak of themselves by a different name from that by which they are known by the surrounding tribes."—Wm. Hamilton, in *Transactions of Nebraska State Historical Society*, vol. 1, p. 73.

Cansa or Kansa. Kaw or Kâh are nicknames or abbreviations of Kawsa, Kahsah, Kauzau, Cauzes, and a dozen other forms with similar first syllables.

An old Osage Indian once said that the name Kaw or Kah-sah was a term of ridicule once given by the Osages to the Kansa because they would not join the former tribe in a war against the Cherokees, the term meaning coward.⁸ This explanation of the word is not deserving of serious consideration, for the time that the Osages and the Kansa had some differences over the question of going to war with the Cherokees was long subsequent to the time when the Kansa were known to history by this well-known name. In the early part of the nineteenth century, when the Cherokees first migrated into Arkansas, the Osages disliked them and wished the Kansa to join in a general war against the Cherokees. This the Kansa refused, and the Cherokees came into eastern Oklahoma, which deprived the Osages of certain territory, and the Osages laid it up against the Kansa nation; but it had nothing to do with the giving of the latter name. Even if this term Kah-sah was applied to them by Osages, and even if it did mean coward, of which there is no evidence, it does not explain the older and more general word Kansa, which was used by Marquette in 1673, or over 100 years before this alleged trouble between the Osages and Kansa over the Cherokees.

I find that the dates of the authorities using Kah, Kaw or Kau for first syllable, such as Kah-sah, Kaw-sa, Kau-sas, etc., are all during the past 100 years, or since 1804, and that the first instance is found in the Lewis and Clark reports of their expedition of that year.

The names used to designate this tribe for 200 years prior to that date have the Kan or Can forms as the first part, which expresses the sound in the more ancient forms as well as the form in popular use to-day. This form, Cansa or Kansa, same in sound, was first used by the Spanish, to which I will refer later on, then by Father Marquette, and finally by French explorers and writers for 125 years after his time. This would seem to establish beyond any doubt, even from French sources, that this form of the name was by far the older, and their original and proper appellation, that by which they were first designated by the whites. The Kah-sah, Kaw-sa and Kau-zau types are corruptions of the far older and expressive name Kan-sa. In pronouncing Kan-sa, the hasty French would fail to nasalize the *n*, which would disappear, and the first syllable of the word, with a broad *a*, would become Kah or Kaw, and thus Kan-sa would become Kah-sa or Kaw sa. Afterward, by abbreviation, these names became Kaw, the nickname of the French trader.

Kausus was used by Lewis and Clark, 1804; Kauzau by McCoy, 1840; Kaw is found in Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1850, as used while the tribe lived at Council Grove, 1847-1873, and by plainmen during the border days, and is still in common use in Kansas, and at the present home of the tribe in Oklahoma.

It may be wise to preserve this French-Canadian name Kaw, in referring to the Kansas river; but it is a nickname, a misnomer, means nothing, has no good foundation, and it should not be applied to the tribe, for it was not its name. Instead, the form Kansa should be used, it being the ancient and expressive word, the name of our state, and is supported by the weight of scores of authorities during the past 300 years.

NOTE 8.—Dickerson's *Osage Nation*, p. 2.

This famous historic word Cansa or Kansa is neither of Indian nor French origin, and it is useless to look to those languages for some strained and vague signification. The word is plain Spanish, and as such has a well-defined and expressive meaning when applied to an Indian tribe, and especially when used to designate that Indian tribe from which our state takes its noted name.

Cansa or Kansa means "a troublesome people, those who continually disturb and harass others." It comes from the Spanish verb *cansar*, which means "to molest, to stir up, to harass," and from the Spanish noun *cansado*, "a troublesome fellow, a disturber."

So when the Spanish explorer Oñate, on his trip of 1601, met this tribe and learned that they annually pillaged and made war upon the Quivirans, and were always ready for a fight, he called them *Escansaques*, "the disturbers, the troublesome." From this it is easy to see how the name "wind people" might have been used in referring to the tribe, and suggested, as it has to some, that the meaning of the word was, "those who come like the winds sweeping across the prairies," the wind being a disturbing element of old plains days.

In the body of the name *Escansaques* we have the exact form used by many early writers. The sound of the letter *c* being hard like *k*, it is easy to see how early historians used either as the first letter of the name. Many early French writers follow closely the Spanish name *Cansa*. In my list of over 125 ways of spelling there are about thirty authorities with the letter *c* and having *Can* for the first syllable; *e. g.*, Cansa, Canse, Canceys, Canceze, Canzas, Canceas, etc.

Some have thought that the *Escansaques* were the Utes, but the greater weight of evidence, as I have shown, seems to establish the fact that they were none other than the Kansa—now so considered by the United States authorities and the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington.

The 200 leagues or more, 500 or 600 miles, traveled by the Spanish before they met the tribe they name "*Escansaques*," brought them to the lower Kansas river, or to the Missouri river, in the neighborhood where the French explorer found the Kansa in 1724.

In all the many ways the word has been written, with *Can*, *Kan*, *Kon* or *Quans* as part of the name, the sound attempted to be conveyed is the same. Is it strange that the Spanish name *Cansaques*, the *Es* being a mere prefix, should turn to *Quans*, *Cans*, *Canzan*, *Canses*, *Canceas*, *Canze*, *Canceys*, *Kansa*, *Kances*, *Kanse*, *Kanses*, *Konsa*, *Konzo*, as used by different French explorers and writers in speaking of the nation? The Spanish really gave the name Kansa to the world when they called this tribe the *Escansaques*—for Cansa or Kansa would be the same in sound. They first met the tribe, and the French who followed them applied the same name used by the Spanish in designating this people. It was probably first written "*Kansa*" by Marquette, on his famous autograph map of the Mississippi, about 1673; but many succeeding French explorers and writers clung to the Spanish custom of using "*Can*" as the first part of the name.

Yes, the Spanish called this Indian nation *Escansaques*, an expressive term, which speaks volumes regarding the character of the tribe in those early days. Those aboriginal inhabitants of our state were called "those who harass," "those who stir up," "disturbers"; and it seems that the latter-day Kansans—those who now occupy the former homes of the de-

parted red brothers—are keeping up the record by continually working at the same old game. Possibly they have absorbed from the atmosphere or from the soil some of the elements which give them the same characteristics of the nation of aborigines which, during the dawn of Kansas history, was so noted for getting into the lime-light as disturbers and agitators. Kansas will be Kansas no more when she lapses into a stupid pace and ceases to stir public sentiment along lines of activity. Let Kansans ever remember the source and signification of that name, a name which has not only been used as a slogan of unrest and agitation for 300 years, but also has been and now is the stirring war-cry of advancement along many lines which make our state and nation both interesting and great.

KANSA VILLAGES ON THE MISSOURI RIVER.

“KANSES”—“GRAND VILLAGE DES CANSEZ.”

Many localities in this state will contend for the honor of being the first capital of Kansas, but all will have to yield to the claim of the ancient Indian city and government center of the Kansa nation which occupied the present site of Doniphan, in Atchison county, Kansas.

As has been said, this once great nation had villages along the Missouri, Kansas, Neosho and their branches during the period in which they were the masters of a great part of the present state of Kansas, but to their ancient capital, at the mouth of Independence creek, was the distinction given of being called, “Grand village des Cansez,” or “Grand village des Quans.” It was so known even before the French explorer visited it in 1724, at the time a compact of friendship was formed which ever afterward existed between this tribe and the French people.⁹

Mr. Geo. J. Remsburg, of Oak Mills, who has made a life study of north-eastern Kansas, and written much on the subject, corroborates Lewis and Clark’s statement that Doniphan is the site of the Grand village of the Kansa, also known as “the Village of the Twenty-four,” according to Major Long, who made note of its ruins in 1819.

The first description we have of this famous spot, and the Indian nation gathered there, comes from the account of the visit of M. Étienne Vényard de Bourgmont, in the summer of 1724. This gentleman had been commissioned military commandant on the Missouri, in 1720, by the French government, which was alarmed at the attempted Spanish invasion of the Missouri river region, and desired to establish a friendship with certain border tribes, which might assist in preventing any further advancement of the Spanish from the Santa Fe region toward the Missouri valley.

The French had reason to be alarmed, for they knew that the Spanish were attempting to colonize the Missouri valley, drawn thereto by their own explorations and the reports of valuable mines,¹⁰ and intending to open up

NOTE 9.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 393.

NOTE 10.—The following letter to the secretary of the Historical Society will serve as a sequel to the note on page 17 of the Ninth Volume of Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society:

“COUNCIL GROVE, KAN., April 15, 1908.

“In answer to yours of the 11th instant, I would say that at the time I came to this territory, back in the '40's, there was talk about a tin-mine somewhere in the Smoky Hill valley, and that the Kaw Indians held a key to the location. This was the talk in western Missouri and in this territory. The Kaws had in their possession specimens of the ore. We procured from them a part of it, had it tested, and sent it to Washington, to the commissioner of Indian affairs. I talked with the head men of the tribe about the matter and they said to me that the samples exhibited by some of their tribe had been obtained by their people from the whites who were passing over the Santa Fe trail, or from the border settlements of western Missouri. Various parties during

trade with the Indian tribes on French territory.¹¹ Bourgmont started overland for the Kansa village in 1724, from Fort Orleans, a French stronghold established by himself on the Missouri river the previous year, not far from the present Malta Bend, Mo. With him were M. Bellerive, Sieur Renaudiere, two soldiers, and five other Frenchmen, besides 177 Missouri and Osage Indians, under command of their own chiefs, included in that number. Several boat-loads of presents, consisting of useful and ornamental articles, had been sent on ahead in charge of Lieutenant Saint-Ange and an escort of eleven soldiers. On July 7, 1724, the overland party arrived on the east side of the Missouri, opposite the Kansa village. They crossed the next day in a pirogue and on rafts, swimming the horses, and camped near the village. Then began a two-weeks celebration, councils, pow-wows, trading horses for merchandise, and making presents to the Indians.

On July 24, they were ready to proceed on their journey to the land of the Padoucas (Comanches) upon their mission of peace and friendship. It was surely an imposing procession, this grand departure, and Bourgmont says: "We put ourselves in battle array on the village height, the drum began to beat, and we marched away."

Besides Bourgmont's forces, the Kansa furnished the following escort to this remarkable procession: "Three hundred warriors, commanded by two grand chiefs and fourteen war chiefs, three hundred Indian women, five hundred Indian children, and five hundred dogs loaded down with baggage and provisions."

Unfortunately, the summer was unusually sultry, a prevalent fever attacked Bourgmont and obliged him on the 31st of July to return to Fort Orleans, after sending Gaillard as messenger to the Padoucas with some slaves which had been purchased from the Kansa to insure a welcome reception for the French, and to bear tidings of his intention to visit them later. By October 8, his health being restored, the commander again set out from the Kansa village, but took in his retinue only a few chiefs and head men of the Kansa and neighboring tribes. Bourgmont reached the Padoucas October 18, and effected a peace treaty with them (heretofore they had been friendly with the Spanish), and also induced them to enter into a treaty of peace and alliance with the Kansa, Missouris, Osages and other tribes.

the early '50's from the borders of Missouri went in search of the mine. In 1852 one outfit from Jackson county, Missouri, had a caravan of thirty teams and wagons. They distributed presents among the Indians and spent several weeks in the Smoky Hill country searching for it, the Indians refusing to locate the treasure. After I talked with the head men of the nation I was satisfied it was a scheme on the part of the few Indians claiming to know its location, to make money out of the report, and I refused to give encouragement to any effort to locate it. For about twenty years this talk was kept up, and various reports sent out to the department at Washington, and the department finally, during the latter '60's sent Colonel Boone out here to investigate the matter. He came with some blankets, and other presents, and distributed these among the Indians, procured teams here, and I selected one of the shrewdest Indians to go with the commissioners to the Smoky Hill to locate the mine. Maj. E. S. Stover, then agent for the Kaws, was one of the commission, and went with the party. I was invited to accompany them but declined. They spent several days in the search. The Indian guided them to the mouth of a small stream that enters into the Smoky, and the commissioner informed me that they found some specimens of some kind of ore, iron-pyrites, or something of that nature. Since that date I have not heard the tin-mine spoken of. Respectfully, T. S. HUFFAKER."

NOTE 11.—April 21, 1721, "M. de Boisbriant wrote M. de Bienville from the Illinois, that 300 Spaniards had left Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, for the purpose of conquering the colony [evidently a colony on the Red river], but only 70 had put their threat into execution, who had arrived at the Kansas river, where they encountered the Octotata and Panis Indians, who massacred all except a priest, who had made his escape on horseback."—Statutes, Documents and Papers Bearing on the Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, 1878, p. 100. Another account of this same expedition says that in 1720 a Spanish expedition led by Don Pedro Villazur reached the Platte river, and that the party was ambuscaded by the Pawnee Indians and practically destroyed.—Baudelier, in Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, vol. 5, p. 179.

This Grand village seems also to have been a Jesuit missionary station as early as 1727, for lately I have found in some old French-Canadian records of the province of Ontario, an interesting fact not before recognized in Kansas history, that the name "Kanzas" was a well-known geographical term to designate a place on the Missouri river, within the present borders of our state, where the French government and its official church, nearly 200 years ago, had an important missionary center. These early French records, preserved in the "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," contain this statement: "For the support of a missionary at Kanzas, 600 livres."

It is significant as to the standing of this mission station of the Jesuits at Kanzas, away out in the heart of the continent, that in this document it was classed along with their other important Indian missions, such as the Iroquois, Abenakis and Tadoussac, and that the same amount per missionary was expended. It was "Kanzas," a mission charge on the rolls of the Jesuit Fathers, for which annual appropriations of money were made as early as 1727. Here some of those saintly, self-sacrificing missionary pioneers of the Cross must have come from distant Quebec and Montreal, or from the far-away cloisters of sunny France. What zeal and sacrifice for others! Is it any wonder that the Kansa Indians always spoke reverently of the "black robes," who were the first to labor for their welfare in that long-ago period in the wilderness.

Our next authoritative record as to this village is given by Lewis and Clark, under date of July 4, 1804:

"We came to and camped on the lower edge of the plain, where the 2d old Kanzas village formerly stood, above the mouth of a creek, 30 yards wide; this creek we call Creek Independence. As we approached this place the prairie had a most beautiful appearance. Hills and valleys interspersed with copses of timber gave a pleasing diversity to the scenery, the right fork of the Creek Independence meandering through the middle of the plain. A point of high land near the river gives an elevated situation. At this place the Kanzas Indians formerly lived. This town appears to have covered a large space. The nation must have been numerous at the time they lived here. The cause of their moving to the Kanzas river I have never heard nor can I learn. War with their neighbors must have reduced this nation and compelled them to retire to a situation in the plains better calculated for their defense, and one where they may make use of their horses with good effect in pursuing their enemies. We closed the day by a discharge of our bow piece, [and] an extra gill of whisky."

"JULY 5th, 1804. Set out very early; proceeded on near the bank where the old village stood for two miles. The origin of this old village is uncertain. M. de Bourgmont, a French officer, who commanded a fort near the town of the Missouris [Fort Orleans] in about the year 1724, and in July of the same year he visited this village. At that time the nation was numerous and well disposed towards the French. Mr. Du Pratz must have been badly informed as to the cane opposite this place. We have not seen one stalk of reed or cane on the Missouris. He states that the 'Indians that accompanied M. de Bourgmont crossed to the Canzes village on floats of cane.' These people must have been very numerous at that time, as M. de Bourgmont was accompanied by 300 warriors, 500 young people and 300 dogs of burthen out of this village. The cause of these Indians moving over to the Kanzas river I have never learned."

Sergeant Charles Floyd, who accompanied Lewis and Clark, wrote the following in his journal, July 5, 1804:

"Pressed on for two miles under the bank of [where] the Old Kansas

village formerly stood in 1724. The cause of the Indians moving from this place I can't learn, but naturally concluded that war has reduced their nation and compelled them to retire further into the plains with a view of defending themselves, and to observe their enemy, and to defend themselves on horse-back."¹²

"JULY 4th. After 15 miles' sail, we came-to on the north, a little above a creek on the south side, about 30 yards wide, which we called Independence creek, in honor of the day, which we could celebrate only by an evening gun, and an additional gill of whisky to the men.

"JULY 5th. We crossed-over to the south and came along the bank of an extensive and beautiful prairie, interspersed with copses of timber and watered by Independence creek. On this bank formerly stood the second village of the Kanzas; from the remains it must have been once a large town."¹³

The remains of another old Kansa town, have been found about twenty miles down the Missouri from the Grand village, a short distance below Cow island (Isle au Vache) and the present Oak Mills, in Atchison county. It was evidently not as large a town as the Grand village, yet for certain reasons was quite as important a point, and should not be forgotten in recording the early history of Kansas. It was probably the first governmental center in our state where white men lived in a permanent community, erected buildings, and transacted business. Here was the old French fort or trading-post, the ruins of which were seen and noted by Lewis and Clark. But we do not have to entirely depend upon relics and ruins of this famous spot for there are records preserved in French-Canadian archives telling of its importance. Bougainville on French Forts, in 1757, says:

"KANSES.—In ascending this stream [the Missouri river] we meet the village of the Kansés. We have there a garrison with a commandant, appointed, as is the case with Pimiteoui and Fort Chartres, by New Orleans. This post produces one hundred bundles of furs."¹⁴

Perrin du Lac, in 1802, says that thirty-five miles above the mouth of the Kansas was found the site of one of the Kansa villages. According to Mr. Remsburg these two quotations refer to the village he has described in the Salt creek valley, on the farm of Mr. Thomas Daniels, and I have no doubt that he will yet determine the exact position of the old fort and trading-post, about which clusters so much that would be of interest in Kansas history. Lewis and Clark mention it as follows:

"JULY 2, 1804. Opposite our camp is a valley, in which was situated an old village of the Kansas, between two high points of land, on the bank of the river. About a mile in the rear of the village was a small fort, built by the French on an elevation. There are now no traces of the village, but the situation of the fort may be recognized by some remains of chimneys, and the general outlines of the fortification, as well as by the fine spring which supplied it with water. The party who were stationed here were probably cut off by the Indians, as there are no accounts of them."¹⁵

The following extracts are also made from the same author:¹⁶

"JULY 2. We camped after dark on the s. s. [starboard side] above the island [Kickapoo island], and opposite the first old village of the Kanzas,

NOTE 12.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 7, pp. 15, 16.

NOTE 13.—Coues' Lewis and Clark, pp. 38, 39.

NOTE 14.—Statutes, Documents and Papers Bearing on the Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, 1878, page 81.

NOTE 15.—Coues' Lewis and Clark, page 37.

NOTE 16.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 64; vol. 6, pp. 57, 36.

which was situated in a valley between two points of high land and immediately on the river bank. Back of the village and on rising ground at about one mile the French had a garrison for some time and made use of water out of a spring running into Turkey creek."

"'First Old Kansa Village,' thirty-five miles up from the mouth of the Kansas."

"Twenty-five miles further Turkey creek falls in on south side. This creek is but small, passes through open bottoms nearly parallel with the Missouri and in rear of an old Kansas village. This creek once furnished water to an old French garrison situated near its mouth."

Floyd's Journal says, under date of July 3:

"Camped on the north side, on the south side was an old French fort who had settled here to protect the trade of this nation in the valley. The Kansas had a village between two points of high prairie land, a handsome situation for a town."¹⁷

Some have thought that this village, which I will term the Fort village, was older than the Grand village, but the fact that the fort in its vicinity was in existence in 1757 would tend to disprove this. Bourgmont, who visited the Grand village in 1724, makes no mention of this one near Isle au Vache, which he certainly would have done had it been there at the time. The trading-post or fort was probably established soon after his visit, as Fort Orleans was destroyed during Bienville's government, which ended in 1726, and the interests of the French would have required one on this remote frontier for the double purpose of trade and as a guard against Spanish invasion, which had been attempted only a few years before. As was often the case, the trading-post and fort were not located at the main Indian village, but at some commanding position near by. The post once established here, the Indians who came to trade would erect a village, which, although at first of a temporary character, would finally become permanent.

While this Fort village was the Frenchman's headquarters, a military and trading center, the Indian village, located within a mile, was doubtless tributary to the Grand village at the mouth of Independence creek, the capital of the tribe.

At these early French forts or posts like Kansas, the officer in charge was called the commandant. There was a garrison or strong-house built for his use and quarters for the soldiers. Then there was the storehouse, where the trading took place with the Indians. Here the furs and peltries were received and stored, which the Indians brought and exchanged for the goods they wanted, such as powder, lead, beads, bright-colored cloth arrow-points and trinkets of various kinds. All the buildings were surrounded by a line of palisades, and, if possible, the means of obtaining water were within or very near at hand. At these posts there was usually a licensed trader, who had bought the privilege for a certain price. Some traders were appointed by the governor-general with the approbation of the court. It is needless to state that the privileges went to the favorites of the appointing power, and the practice became an extensive system of patronage. Certain posts reserved the fur trade for the benefit of the king, but the record says that the traffic at these posts was not profitable for the king, who always lost money in this way, and only retained them to preserve an alliance with the Indians; the storekeepers and the commandant knowing how to enrich them-

selves. The trading-post at Fort Kanes was of the congé or license character, and the trader was some favorite of the governor-general of Canada. Whoever he was, he filled the first civil official appointment, and with his associates, founded the first permanent white settlement in what is now the state of Kansas.¹⁸

As a military point, this post and fort named "Kanes" must have been of considerable importance, for its garrison was sent from New Orleans, and it had the honor of having a commandant in charge and was placed on the same basis as Detroit, Vincennes, Fort Chartres and the other noted French forts of that day.

This name "Kanzas" or "Kanes" had a place in French military, commercial and religious circles soon after Bourgmont's visit to the capital of the Kansa nation in 1724. In general it referred to the region where the permanent abodes of the tribe were located, to wit, the Grand village, now known to be the present site of Doniphan, and the Fort village, some twenty miles down the river—a little below Oak Mills and Cow island.

Bourgmont, in his account of his visit, fairly well described the Grand village, and the sites and ruins of both were observed by Lewis and Clark when they passed up the Missouri in 1804, and they have often been mentioned as old villages of the Kansa nation. However, I do not think Kansas historians have fully realized the importance of the latter locality, for it was evidently the first permanent white settlement in Kansas—the first center of activity in war and commerce established within the borders of our state.

It was Kanes, an outpost of the progressive French, and one of their frontier towns, where white men lived in houses and carried on business almost 200 years ago. Here was a depot for all the commercial supplies of that day, the merchandise from distant France and the valuable skins and furs which were here stored for sale and exchange. It seems that the annual output of this first mart of trade in Kansas was 100 bales or bundles of furs. When we realize that a bundle or bale of furs represented 100 otter skins, 100 wolf skins, or 100 badger skins, or it might be made up of 40 deer skins, or 500 muskrat or mink skins, we can see that the trade at Kanes was considerable.

It was Kanes, an important French military post and fort, with its strong garrison of brave soldiers, one of that wonderful chain of French defenses established from Quebec to New Orleans and along the Missouri river. It was here that the stirring morning drum-beat and the solemn echo of the evening gun marked the first permanent establishment of white man's authority, protection and enterprise within the borders of our state.

No one knows just when the Kansa established the Grand village, or the Fort village. The former was an old place in 1724. One of these sites doubtless was occupied by the tribe when Marquette marked the Kansa to the northwest of the Osages, in his map of 1673. Other maps of that period, like Franquelin's Map of Louisiana, 1679, show the Kansa on the Missouri above the mouth of the Kansas river. More than likely this locality was a stronghold of the tribe in 1602, when the Spanish explorer Oñate met the Escansaques on the plains and punished them for harrassing the Quirans.

NOTE 18.—Bougainville on French Posts, 1757, in *Boundaries of the Province of Ontario*, 1878, pp. 81-85.

One of the great battles in which the Kansa were defeated by the allied forces of the Iowa, Sac and Fox tribes took place, according to Mr. Geo. J. Remsburg, near the present site of Oak Mills, in Atchison county. Vast quantities of Indian bones and implements of war have been found on this famous old battle-ground. It was this and many other conflicts that decimated this tribe and made them retire to the interior.

VILLAGES ON THE KANSAS RIVER.

It will never be exactly known when the Kansa Indians first lived on the river which bears their name. Their villages along that stream were occupied at different times, and their sites are found from its junction with the Missouri to as far west as the mouth of the Blue river. One of them at least is prehistoric, and can only be pointed out by archeologists, while the others were occupied by the tribe since its movements were known to the historian.

The Kansa were one branch of the up-stream people, and when, probably about 1500, they separated from the Omaha, Ponka and Osage, with whom they had come from the East, they took possession of the valley of the Kansas river, and became a distinct Indian nation.

Probably their most ancient village site in Kansas is that found in Wyandotte county, a little east of White Church, on the old William Malotte farm. The many relics recovered there by the late Geo. U. S. Hovey, and the extensive outlines of this village, prove it to have long been an important center, and it was probably while living here that the stream received from this people its name of Kansas.

A full history of this once great Indian nation, in its original conquest for the mastery of the Kansas river and its tributaries, its hundreds of years of occupancy, with all the thrilling incidents of victory and defeat, legends and lore, and then the final decadence of the nation and the cruel and unfair treatment on the part of the United States, which at last led to its complete abandonment of the Kansas valley, would make a thrilling and interesting chapter in the annals of American Indian life.

What point upon the Kansas river was first occupied by the Kansa? Where did they establish their first village upon this stream at the time they began to draw away from the Missouri? This question is partially answered by Lewis and Clark in the following quotations, though in a contradictory manner:

"This river [Kansas] receives its name from a nation which dwells at this time on its banks, and has two villages, one about twenty leagues, and the other forty leagues up. Those Indians are not very numerous at this time, reduced by war with their neighbors. They formerly lived on the south banks of the Missouri, twenty-four leagues above this river [the Kansas] in an open and beautiful plain and were very numerous at the time the French first settled the Illinois. I am told they are a fierce and warlike people, being badly supplied with firearms, became easily conquered by the Iowas and Sacs, who are better furnished with those materials of war. This nation is now out on the plains hunting the buffalo. They consist of about 300 men."¹⁹

Their information was secured largely from the trappers and boatmen who accompanied them, and was of necessity inaccurate. The first extract would imply that the eastern village was still occupied in 1804, while the more

exact table speaks of the same village as "the old Kansas village," and in the case of the western village identifies it as "present village of the Kansas," at the mouth of the Blue. We are thus led to infer that the "old Kansas village," situated on the north side of the Kansas, between Heart creek (Soldier) and Black Paint (Red Vermillion), was their first Kansas river village after 1724, abandoned in favor of the Blue village. It is singular that the site should not have been identified by our early settlers. It was possibly near or on the site of that of Fool Chief, in 1830, near Menoken.

NAMES OF CREEKS, RIVERS, AND REMARKABLE PLACES. ²⁰	Distances from each other	Distance of each from the mouth of the Kansas.....	Width in yards.....	The side of the Kansas into which they fall...
The three rivers near each other and about the same size.....	5	10	20	N.
The stranger's wife river.....	5	15	35	N.
Bealette's creek	3	18	22	N.
Wor-rah-ru-za river.....	1	19	40	S.
Grasshopper creek.....	2	21	25	N.
Heart river.....	10	31	30	N.
The old Kansas village	9	40	N.
Full river.....	5	45	50	S.
Black paint river	27	72	38	N.
Blue water river and the present village of the Kansas just below..	8	80	60	N.
Me-war-ton-nen-gar creek.....	5	85	18	N.
War-ho-ba creek.....	3	88	15	S.
Republican river.....	15	101	200	N.
Solomon's creek	12	115	30	N.
Little salt creek.....	10	125	30	N.

VILLAGE NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE SALINE RIVER.

According to the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, the Kansa had an ancient village at the mouth of the Saline, and the first treaty made with them by the United States, soon after the Louisiana purchase, 1803, was at this village, they having been forced back from the Missouri river by the Dakotas. The writer, Dr. W. J. McGee, says that at this time they numbered 1500, and occupied thirty earth lodges. His authority for this statement I have not yet found.

The first formal recorded treaty between the tribe and the United States was that of 1815, a treaty of peace and friendship, of forgiveness on our part for their leaning towards the British in the war of 1812. At that time their capital village was at the mouth of the Blue Earth river. This is usually known as the first treaty with the tribe. However, the first act of treating with them so far found was when Pike, on the 28th day of September, 1806, in his camp near the Pawnee Republic village, held a council with representatives of the tribe, and with them and some Osages smoked the pipe of peace. It seems impossible that they should have had at this time a village at the mouth of the Saline, for Pike, in spite of the cowardice of the Osage, would certainly have visited it on his route to the Pawnees, which ran northward through Saline county. A village of thirty earth lodges would have left an impression not easily effaced by the plow, and it is strange

NOTE 20.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 6, p. 36.

that the exact location of it has never been reported, letters of inquiry receiving no answer.

The description of the village is so like the permanent capital of the tribe at the mouth of the Blue river that possibly some of those early writers overestimated its distance up the river. The village at the mouth of the Saline, if it existed at all, was probably only of a temporary character during hunting seasons, a tributary village to the main town at the Blue, where they were visited in 1819 by the Long expedition. In some memoranda of the Lewis and Clark expedition, in disconnected notes, occurs the statement: "Their village is 80 leagues up the Kanzes river. They hunt high up the Kanzes and Arkansaws." This would seem to name a spot as far up as the Saline. De'Lisle's map of 1718 shows the "Grande Riv. des Cansez" with two large tributaries from the far northwest, and a "Cansez" village at the mouth of the second one, far enough to the west to be the Saline. Jedidiah Morse, in his "Report on Indian Affairs," 1822, places the Kansas village in his text at the mouth of the Grand Saline, though his map shows it to be at the mouth of the [Blue] Earth river.

VILLAGE NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE BLUE.*

A prominent capital of the Kansa nation, the exact site of which is well known, was the large village just two miles east of the present city of Manhattan, on the bank of the Kansas river. Its location is on sections 9 and 10, township 10, range 8 east, where the river touches those sections, the line between them passing through its midst. When the tribe established this as their capital is not exactly known, but it was probably in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

When the Lewis and Clark expedition passed up the Missouri, in 1804, they saw only the ruins of the old Kansa villages. At this time they stated that the Kansa villages on the Kansas river "are two in number, one about twenty and the other about forty leagues up from its mouth." One of these must have been close to the present site of Topeka, and the other was this one at the Blue, where a part of Major Long's expedition found it in 1819. This was their capital until about 1830, and its 120 lodges just back

* THE HOME OF THE KANSA INDIANS, FROM OLD MAPS, 1672-1819.

The earliest map pointing out the location of the Kansa nation was that of Marquette, 1673, and described locations as found by that intrepid missionary explorer and his companion, Joliet. A copy of this map will be found in this volume opposite page 80. On it the Kansa are placed west of the Osages and southeast of the Panis. Marquette did not visit them, nor any tribe west of the Mississippi, but had information from well-informed Indians who stood by while he made the map. At this time the Kansa were probably on the Missouri river in about the location where visited by Bourgmont fifty years later.

Parkman's map No. 5, in Harvard College library, "La Manitoumie, 1672-'73," shows the Kanissi south of the Missouri river and between the 8missouri and the Paniassa. (Winsor's Narrative History of America, vol. 4, p. 221.)

Joliet's map, 1674, shows the Kansa southeast of the Osages and Pani. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 86.)

Franquelin's map of Louisiana, 1679-1682, shows the Cansa on the Emissourites river above the mouth of the Kansa river. (Margry, vol. 3; Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 63, p. 1.)

Thevenot's map of Louisiana, 1681, locates the Kemissi south of the Missouri and northwest of the Autre Chaha (Osage) and toward the Panissi.

De'Lisle's map of Louisiana, 1718, shows the Grande Rivere des Cansez and a village far out on that stream at the mouth of the second large tributary from the northwest, near the country of the Padoucas. It also shows a village of Les Cansez on the Missouri river, south side, near the mouth of a creek (Independence). (In French's Louisiana, part 2.)

D'Anville's map of Louisiana, 1732, locates the Kansez village at the mouth of Petite river des Kansez. This was the Grand village at the mouth of Independence creek. This map also shows the River des Padoucas et Kansez and a village of the Paniouassas on a northern branch. (Photo map.)

Bellin's map of Louisiana, 1744, marks the Pays des Canses (country of the Kansa) extending from the Missouri river almost to the mountains, being quite a part of the present states of Missouri, Kansas and southern Nebraska. The Canses village is placed at the mouth of the sec-

from the river, as reported by Professor Say, made an imposing appearance. Mr. Henry Stackpole's survey in 1880 represents 160 or more lodge sites of from ten to fifty feet in diameter.

Some time after the treaty of 1825, when the Kansa surrendered their claim to a large part of Kansas, they began to retrace their steps toward the east, and by 1830 had established themselves at villages near the mouth of Mission creek, west of the city of Topeka, and at other places, and this Blue Earth village was abandoned. A very full account of this village, as told in 1819 by Mr. Thomas Say, of the Long expedition, with an illustration and map, will be found in Kansas Historical Collections, volumes 1 and 2, page 286.

VILLAGE EAST OF TOPEKA, THE FIRST OFFICIAL AGENCY.

By the treaty of June 3, 1825, the Kanza nation bartered away their imperial patrimony—almost one-half of the state of Kansas—for a mess of pottage. For this they received \$4000 in merchandise and horses, an annual tribal annuity of \$3500 for twenty years, and a limited reservation along the Kansas river. They also received some cattle, hogs and chickens, and some half-breed allotments. The eastern boundary of their reduced country was sixty miles west of the Missouri state line, or what is now the western boundary of Soldier township, in Shawnee county. Twenty-three half-breed Kansas children were each given a section of land fronting on the north side of the Kansas river. The first of these allotments was made next east of Soldier township, and the twenty-third allotment, that of Joseph James, was down the river near the present Union Pacific station of Williamstown, Jefferson county. Here quite a settlement sprang up in 1827, composed of the agency officers and families, half-breed families and some Indians.²¹ This treaty of 1825 provided for a blacksmith and farmer for the tribe. These officials located on what was thought to be the most eastern half-breed allotment, but

and large tributary of the Kansas river from its junction with the Missouri. It shows also the Petite river des Canses (the Little River of the Kansa). (Shea's Charlevoix History of New France, vol. 6, p. 11.)

Sieur le Rouge's map, 1746, shows River des Canses correctly, and the Canses village on the Kansas river, quite a way from its mouth.

Vaugondy's map of North America, 1798, gives Les Canses on their river, and gives the Pays des Canses as extensive as that of other great Indian nations, or from the mountains to the Missouri river, over most of the present state of Kansas. (Winsor's Miss. Basin, p. 205.)

Le Page Du Pratz's map of Louisiana, 1757, with course of the Mississippi and tributaries, shows the river of the Cansez with the location of a Cansez village up that stream about sixty or seventy miles. It also shows the Grand village Cansez on the Missouri river quite a distance above the mouth of the Cansez river. This shows that they were again living on both streams, with permanent villages, as shown by De Lisle's map of 1718. (Photo map.)

Dunn's map, 1774, Source of Mississippi river, shows Kansez at mouth of a tributary to the Missouri river. This was doubtless the old Grand village at the mouth of Independence creek. This copy of Dunn's map does not show the whole course of the Kansas river, omitting a village at the mouth of the Blue, and would indicate that as late as 1774 they were still occupying the above-described Grand village. (Winsor's Westward Movement, page 214.)

Carver's map of North America, 1778, shows Kansez on the south side of the Missouri, northwest of the Osages. This is about the last map showing them lingering by the Missouri river. After this they seem to have entirely established themselves on their own old river, the Kansas. (Winsor's Westward Movement, page 104.)

French map of date prior to 1800, used by Lewis and Clark, 1804, marks the junction of Kansez river, upon which the Kansa nation lived at that time. (Map No. 1, Thwaite's Lewis and Clark.)

Spanish map of about 1800, used by Lewis and Clark, Map No. 2, shows Kansez river with a village of Kansez Indians on its north bank east of the junction with the Blue.

Pike's map, 1806, gives Kanzas on the river of that name. (Coes' edition.)

Long's map of the West, 1819, shows Konzaz village at the mouth of Blue Earth river, near the bank of the Konzaz river. It also shows the site of the Old Konzaz village on the Missouri river at the mouth of Independence creek, which had been abandoned by the nation many years before.

NOTE 21.—For some interesting incidents connected with this village, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 195.

it seems that a mistake was made, and they really settled over the line on land reserved to the Delaware Indians by their supplemental treaty of September 24, 1829.

This village had become quite a settlement by 1830, and among the Indians who lived near the agency was that famous old Kansa chief, Wompa-wa-ra (he who scares all men), whose other name was "Plume Blanche," or "White Plume."

"The present chief of this tribe [1832-'33] is known by the name of the 'White Plume'; a very urbane and hospitable man of good portly size, speaking some English, and making himself good company for all white persons who travel through his country and have the good luck to shake his liberal and hospitable hand." (Catlin's *Illustrations of North American Indians*, 1876, vol. 2, page 23.)

The government had built for this dignitary a substantial stone house, but for some reason he refused to abide in it, preferring his old style wigwam lodge, which he usually erected in the dooryard of this official palace. The floors and woodwork of this building were destroyed, and White Plume once gave as an excuse for not using the house, "Too much fleas."

When Rev. William Johnson was sent as a missionary to the tribe, in 1830, his first two years of work seem to have been at this place, prior to his brief mission to the Delawares.

The trading-post of Frederick Chouteau was across the river, in the neighborhood of Lake View. Daniel Morgan Boone, a son of the Kentucky pioneer, lived at the settlement as government farmer to the tribe. In 1830 Frederick Chouteau moved his trading-post up to the Mission creek villages, and in 1835 Major Boone went there also and opened up two farms. By this time the Jefferson county village was abandoned and the interest of the tribe centered around the Mission creek villages.

Marston G. Clark was the government agent to the tribe most of the time that this village was the official agency. Irving describes him as "a tall, thin, soldier-like man, arrayed in a hunting shirt and an old fox-skin cap."

Mr. W. W. Cone, in the *Capital* of August 27, 1879, gives a good description of White Plume's house, and the exact location of this village, the old house being about fifty yards north of the present Union Pacific depot at the Williamstown or Rural station, Jefferson county.

MISSION CREEK VILLAGES, SHAWNEE COUNTY.

From 1830 to 1846 there were two Kansa villages near the mouth of Mission creek, in the western part of Shawnee county. American Chief had his village of some twenty lodges on the west side of the creek, about two miles from the Kansas river. This chief had about 100 followers.

The village of Hard Chief, whose Indian name was Kah-he-ga-wah-che-hah, was about two miles from the village of American Chief, and nearer the river. This chief had at that time 500 or 600 followers. This village numbered nearly 100 lodges, and was on a hill overlooking the Kansas river, a mile and half west of the mouth of Mission creek, and has been located on the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 28, township 11, range 14 east. This village deserves special mention, for it was here that Rev. William Johnson and wife labored as missionaries to this tribe for seven years. They came in 1835, and erected the mission buildings on the north-



1 2 3
Famous Kaw Chiefs.—1. Al-le-ga-wa-ho; 2. Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, known as the Fool Chief; 3. Wah-ti-an-gah.

west corner of section 33, township 11, range 14 east. It seems that Rev. William Johnson had a wide influence with this tribe, and his death, in 1842, was a great loss, for the tribe never afterwards seemed to respond to the meager missionary efforts attempted.

In 1845 Rev. J. T. Peery, who had married Mrs. Johnson, was sent to this place to establish a manual-labor school. After a year's trial, it seeming to be a failure, the school was discontinued. Only a few children ever attended the school kept by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson at the mission, unless it was a deputation of children taken by Reverend Johnson to the Shawnee manual-labor school just before his death.

This seemed to end the missionary work with this tribe for many years, except that of a scholastic character. In fact, the seven or eight years' mission work of Reverend and Mrs. Johnson and Reverend Peery was the sum total of the resident religious effort among this tribe for a space of three-quarters of a century. Much of the missionaries' time was spent in acquiring the language, and it was an irreparable loss that, just as the Johnsons had become proficient both in the language and manners of the tribe, they were taken away, and no very extensive efforts were ever afterwards made to send resident religious teachers among them.

It was while Reverend Johnson was with the tribe that a book was printed in the Kansa language. No copy seems to have been preserved. Reverend Johnson does not mention it in any writings he has left, and I have found but little authority from old Indians or those who lived with the tribe regarding this alleged book. See more extended mention of this book under "Missionary Efforts with the Kansa," this article.

By the terms of the treaty of 1846, the tribe gave up their right to their lands on the Kansas river and were assigned a reservation twenty miles square in the Neosho valley, near Council Grove, to which they moved in the spring of 1847. This was the most disastrous step ever taken by the tribe, and really proved its complete undoing as an Indian nation of much importance. The old Mission creek buildings in Shawnee county were occupied for a time by Joseph Bourassa, an educated half-breed Pottawatomie, who had a Kansa wife. In 1853 he tore them down and moved the logs about one mile north, where they were used to build another residence.

For an account of this Mission creek village and the work of Revs. William Johnson and J. T. Peery, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, volumes 1 and 2, page 276; also volume 9, page 195.

"FOOL CHIEF'S VILLAGE" 1830-1846.

WEST OF NORTH TOPEKA.

An important village, and the largest of the tribe at that time, was that of old Kah-he-gah-wa-ti-an-gah, known as Fool Chief, which from about 1830 to 1846 was located on the north side of the Kansas river, just north of the present Union Pacific station of Menoken.²² This was the largest Indian village of importance near the present city of Topeka, and was about six miles west of the mouth of Soldier creek, on the southeast quarter of section 16, township 11, range 15 east. Until recent years the lodge-circle marks were visible and its exact location easy to be found. Recently visiting this spot, it was easy to see the wisdom of the Indians in selecting this place for a village site. During the great flood of 1903, when North Topeka



Kansa village of Fool Chief, 1841, near Menokin, Shawnee county.—From Father P. J. De Smet's Letters and Sketches, Philadelphia, 1843.

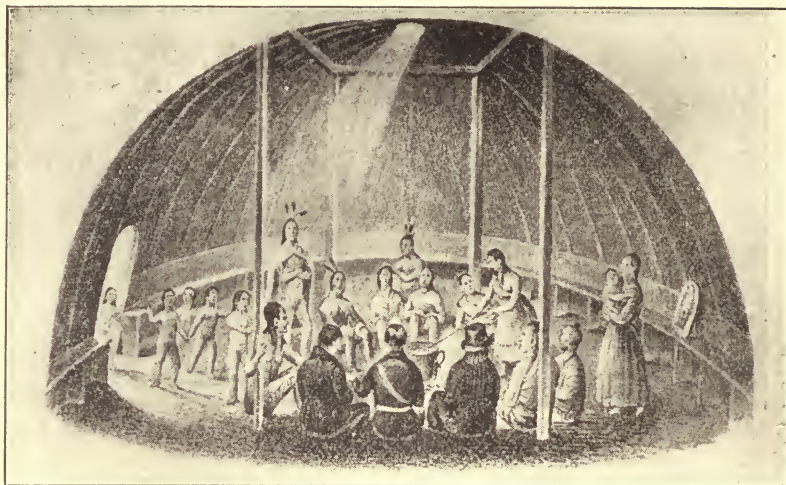
and almost all of the valley was submerged, the station of Menoken and quite a spot surrounding was high and dry as an island. During the great flood of 1844, which was of longer duration, and, from some accounts, even higher than that of 1903, this village was an island of safety, to and from which the Kansa plied their canoes over the waste of waters.

Old Fool Chief ruled here till about the time the tribe was moved to Council Grove. He was the hereditary chief, and for a long time head chief. When sober he was peaceable, but always felt his authority, and coveted the attention of younger braves, who brought him choice portions of game. The Methodists, who had a mission near the mouth of Mission creek near the other two villages of the tribe, once took him to the general conference at Baltimore, where he embarrassed them by appearing, as was customary at home, stark naked on the streets one hot, sultry morning. Afterward he fell still further from grace, and when under the influence of drink always became crazy. In one of these spells, while on his way over to Missouri with a band of warriors, he was killed by one of his own braves, Wa-ho-ba-ke, whose life he was attempting to take.

Father De Smet, on his great missionary tour across the continent, visited this village in May, 1841, and was received with much favor and formality. Two of the relatives of the grand chief came twenty miles to meet him, and helped the missionary cross the Kansas river near the mouth of Soldier creek, just below the present city of Topeka. Near this spot Father De Smet camped and was visited by the head chief and six of his council warriors. A council of friendship was held, the chief showed his credentials, and they all smoked the calumet. A guard was furnished for the use of the missionary during his visit.

Father De Smet, in speaking of the appearance of the village upon approaching it, says :

“At the first sight of their wigwams we were struck at the resemblance they bore to the large stacks of wheat which cover our fields in harvest-time. There were of these in all no more than about twenty, grouped together without order, but each covering a space of about 120 feet in circumference, and sufficient to shelter from 30 to 40 persons. The entire



Interior of a Kanza lodge, 1841, near Menokin, Shawnee county.—From Father P. J. De Smet's *Letters and Sketches*, Philadelphia, 1843.

village appeared to us to consist of from 700 to 800 souls. . . . These cabins, however humble they may appear, are solidly built and convenient. From the top of the wall, which is about six feet in height, rise inclined poles, which terminate round an opening above, serving at once for chimney and window. The door of the edifice consists of an undressed hide on the most sheltered side; the hearth occupies the center, and is in the midst of four upright posts destined to support the rotunda; the beds are ranged round the wall, and the space between the beds and the hearth is occupied by members of the family, some standing, others sitting or lying on skins or yellow-colored mats."

Continuing, Father De Smet gives the following interesting description of the Indians of this capital of the tribe at that time:

"It would be difficult to describe all the curiosities we beheld during the hour we passed among these truly strange beings; a Teniers would have envied us. What most excited our attention was the peculiar physiognomy of the greater number of these personages, their vivacity of expression, singular costumes, diversity of amusement, and fantastic attitudes and gestures.

"The women alone were occupied, and in order to attend to their various duties with less distraction they had placed those of their papooses who were unable to walk on beds or on the floor, or at their feet, each tightly swathed and fastened to a board, to preserve it from being injured by surrounding objects. . . . How were the men occupied? When we entered, some were preparing to eat, this is their great occupation when not asleep, others were smoking, discharging the fumes of the tobacco by their mouths and nostrils, reminding one of the funnels of a steamboat; they talked, they plucked out their beard and the hair of their eye-brows, they made their toilette; the head receiving particular attention.

"Contrary to the custom of other tribes, who let the hair on their heads grow (one of the Crows has hair eleven feet long), the Kansas shave theirs, with the exception of a well-curved turf on the crown, destined to be wreathed with the warrior's plume of eagle's feathers, the proudest ornament with which the human head can be adorned.²³ . . .

NOTE 23.—"The custom of shaving the head, and ornamenting it with the crest of deer's hair, belongs to this tribe; also to the Osages, the Pawnees, the Sacs and Foxes, and Ioways, and

"I could not help watching the motions of a young savage, a sort of dandy, who ceased not to arrange, over and over again, his bunch of feathers before a looking-glass, apparently unable to give it the graceful finish he intended—Father Point, having suffered his beard to grow, soon became an object of curiosity and laughter to the children—a beardless chin and well-picked eyebrows and lashes being, among them, indispensable to beauty. Next come the plume and slit-ears, with their pendants of beads and other trinkets. This is but a part of their finery, . . . and but a faint specimen of their vanity. Do you wish to have an idea of a Kanza satisfied with himself in the highest degree? Picture him to yourself with rings of vermilion encircling his eyes, with white, black or red streaks running down his face, a fantastic necklace, adorned in the center with a large medal of silver or copper dangling on his breast; bracelets of tin, copper or brass on his arms and wrists; a cincture of white around his waist, a cutlass and scabbard; embroidered shoes or moccasins on his feet; and, to crown all, a mantle, . . . thrown over the shoulders and falling around the body in such folds or drapery as the wants or caprice of the wearer may direct, and the individual stands before you as he exhibited himself to us.

"In stature, they are generally tall and well made. Their physiognomy is manly, their language is guttural, and remarkable for the length and strong accentuation of the final syllables. Their style of singing is monotonous, whence it may be inferred that the enchanting music heard on the rivers of Paraguay never cheers the voyageur on the otherwise beautiful streams of the country of the Kanzas.

"With regard to the qualities which distinguish man from the brute, they are far from being deficient. To bodily strength and courage they unite a shrewdness and address superior to other savages, and in their wars and on the chase they make a dextrous use of firearms, which gives them a decided advantage over their enemies."

In another place, in speaking of the valor of the Kansa Indians, Father De Smet bears this testimony:

"The Pawnees are divided into four tribes, scattered over the fertile borders of the Platte river. Though six times more numerous than the Kanzas, they have almost on every occasion been conquered by the latter, because they are far inferior to them in the use of firearms, and in strength and courage."

Father De Smet closes his interesting account as follows:

"However cruel they may be to their foes, the Kanzas are no strangers to the tenderest sentiments of piety, friendship and compassion. They are often inconsolable for the death of relations, and leave nothing undone to give proof of their sorrow. Then only do they suffer their hair to grow—long hair being the sign of long mourning. The principal chief apologized for the length of his hair, informing us . . . that he had lost his son. I wish that I could represent . . . the countenances of three others when they visited our little chapel for the first time. When we showed them an *Ecce Homo* and a statue of our Lady of the seven Dolours, and the interpreter explained to them, that that head crowned with thorns, and that countenance defiled with insults, were the true and real image of God, who had died for the love of us, and that the heart they saw pierced with seven swords was the heart of his mother, we beheld an affecting illustration of the beautiful thought of Tertullian, that the soul of man is naturally Christian! On such occasions it is surely not difficult, after a short instruction on true faith and love of God, to excite feelings of pity for their fellow creatures in the most ferocious bosoms. . . . May the God of Mercies, in whom we alone place all our trust, bless our undertaking and enable us

to no other tribe that I know of. . . . I found these people cutting off the hair with small scissors, which they purchase of the fur traders; and they told me that previous to getting scissors they cut it away with their knives; and before they got knives they were in the habit of burning it off with red-hot stones, which was a very slow and painful operation."—George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*, London, 1876, vol. 2, pp. 23, 24.



Ah-ke-dah-shin-gah, Little Soldier, a typical
Indian brave.

to predict that our sweat, mixed with the fertilizing dew of heaven, will fall auspiciously on this long barren earth, and make it produce something else besides briars and thorns!"²⁴

It seems from the following that there was something noble and commendable in the character of the early Kansa nation, which was of such repute that it also received a tribute from an English writer who had visited America, and was discussing forms of government, etc. In a history of Connecticut, by Samuel A. Peters, printed in 1781 in London, on page 103, we find this complimentary observation regarding the tribe:

"The American Cansez, near Lake Superior, enjoy liberty complete without jealousy. Among them the conscious independence of each individual warms his thoughts and guides his actions. He enters the sachem's dome with the same simple freedom as he enters the wigwam of his brother, neither dazzled at the splendor nor awed by the power of the possessor. Here is liberty in perfection."

This writer only erred in the location of the tribe, but gives the name the same spelling as other French writers of that period.

NEOSHO VALLEY VILLAGES AT COUNCIL GROVE.

The Kansa made their home from 1847 to 1873 on the diminished reserve, surrounding that well-known spot in the Neosho valley, Council Grove. Here they established three villages, each governed by a chief.

Cahola Creek village was on a creek of that name south of the present town of Dunlap. For a long time Al-le-ga-wa-ho, the head chief, presided at this village, having succeeded the old Hard Chief, Kah-he-ga-wah-che-ha. This village was the largest of the three, and Hard Chief ruled here from the time the tribe came from the Kaw valley, in 1847, until some time in the '60's, when he died, a very old man. He was of ordinary intellect, but not a great warrior. Kah-he-gah means chief and wah-che-ha hard or severe, and this chief was said to be of that type.

Al-le-ga-wa-ho, his successor, was a remarkable character, long trusted as the wisest leader of the tribe. He was elected head chief when Kah-he-gah-wah-ti-an-gah the Second, Fool Chief the Younger, lost his position for having killed a noted brave without cause. Al-le-ga-wa-ho was tall and stately, about six feet six, and was long noted as the most eloquent orator of the tribe. He was considered safe and honest in his dealings, and one of the few noted Indians of his day who could not be bribed. He had three wives, one of whom was his special favorite, as will be seen by the following incident: It was always a disputed question whether she or the wife of his cousin, Fool Chief the Younger, was the finest looking. At one time she had been sick for weeks and at last was convalescent, but was very particular and dainty about her diet. She turned away from all kinds of fixed-up dishes for the sick, and longed for that prized Indian dish of dog meat. To gratify her appetite Al-le-ga-wa-ho came to Council Grove and begged for a fat dog, stating that it was the only thing that would satisfy and cure his wife. He found that one could be bought for two dollars, but having spent all of his annuity money, had to borrow the price from a friend, and hastened back rejoicing to his village with the doomed canine. Around Council Grove, when a fat dog disappeared, it was always known where it

NOTE 24.—De Smet's Letters and Sketches, 1843, p. 64.



Stone house built for Kaw Indians.

went. Al-le-ga-wa-ho lived to be a very old man, and died in the Indian Territory years ago.

Fool Chief's village was near the present town of Dunlap, in the valley. Kah he-ga-wah-ti-an-ga Second, governed this village for a long time, having succeeded Ish-tah-le-sah (Speckled Eye), his uncle. Speckled Eye was a brother of Hard Chief and second in rank as a ruler. He was a man of strong and positive personality and was sober and alert. He was the famous orator of the old triumvirate, and was always put forward on important occasions when government officers visited the tribe, because of his ability to make a great speech. He died from eating too much "store trash" the same day he received his annuity money. He had been living on short rations and the change was too sudden. He was tall, spare of flesh and very dignified, and had a prominent Roman nose between very high cheek-bones. He had far more influence in tribal matters than his elder brother, Hard Chief. At his death, his nephew, Fool Chief the Younger, took his place and became head chief of the tribe, but lost the position by an unworthy act—killing a brave without cause, and came very near to suffering the death penalty. He was tried by the tribe and only saved himself by paying as a fine a large number of ponies, blankets, robes and other valuables, and assigning his annuity for a time; all of which went to the mourning widow, who at last was appeased and went away rejoicing with the abundance of her possessions. This incident took much from the former prestige of this chief and soured his later years. While most of the Kansa chiefs had several wives, he had but two. His second wife was his by custom, being his deceased brother's wife. His real wife was long considered the beauty of the tribe; which did not have many handsome squaws. She was noted for her intelligent countenance, was tall, of fine physique and a rich dresser.

Her family did not belong to that village, but he stole her by a shrewd and sensational elopement from the neighboring village nearer Council Grove. Fool Chief went to the Territory with the tribe, and was the last of the "Fool" chiefs, as the name died with him.

The third, or Big John, village was located near Big John creek, southeast of Council Grove, and was not far from the agency. At one time this village was situated within a mile of Council Grove, and the high ground where the old Allen farmhouse now stands was about the center of the village. This village used to make use of the lake on the Stenger farm in which to wash their ponies. Peg-gah-hosh-she was the first chief to rule at this village. He was a brother of Hard Chief and Speckled Eye, and one of the three big chiefs who came with the tribe from their home on the Kaw. He belonged to the old dynasty, the old crowd, and was a man of much force, stubborn and set in his ruling. Of the three old chiefs he was considered the most skilled and trusted warrior of the three brothers. He died about 1870, and was succeeded by his nephew, Wah-ti-an-ga, a son of Speckled Eye.

Wah-ti-an-ga was a cunning and rather tricky fellow, and was given to the use of liquor, much to his disgrace and the safety of those around him. Under one of these spells caused by pie-ge-ne (whisky) he followed Mr. Huffaker around all one afternoon, seeming to want to keep right at his side. Mr. Huffaker suspicioned nothing, but a friend by the name of Ching-gah-was-see (Handsome Bird) did a handsome thing by watching his chance and telling Mr. Huffaker that the drunken chief had made his boasts that he would not leave town till he had taken the life of Tah-poo-skah, that being the Indian name of Mr. Huffaker, meaning teacher. Wah-ti-an-ga claimed that it would be a great deed to kill so important a personage. It was fortunate that Handsome Bird informed him, for it is never safe to trust an Indian crazed or foolish with liquor, for sometimes they will kill their best friend. Wah-ti-an-ga was still a chief when the tribe went to the Territory, where he lived for a long time. Ching-gah-was-see was a good Indian and noted brave, and had the honor of having a spring named for him. This spring is a few miles north of the city of Marion and is noted for its medicinal qualities.

Three or four different schemes for improving the condition of the tribe were undertaken during the twenty-six years of its sojourn at Council Grove, such as the Methodist Indian mission; building houses for those who would live in them; instruction in farming and stock-raising; and the Quaker educational effort. For the most part these efforts were not of sufficient duration and energy to fully test them. While there were individual cases of improvement, the general condition of the tribe was influenced very little.

The Indian mission school was erected in 1850 by the Methodist Episcopal Church South, from funds furnished by the United States government. The teachers were T. S. Huffaker and wife and H. W. Webster and wife—Mr. Huffaker having charge of the school and Mr. Webster of the farming and stock-raising. This school was closed in 1854, the reason alleged being its large expense, amounting to fifty dollars per capita annually, and the government refused to increase the appropriation. The pupils were generally orphans and dependents of the tribe and were all boys, for the Indians absolutely refused to send any of their girls. The custom was to give away

the girls in marriage a long time before the ceremony. In fact, the marriage of the young Indian girls was nothing more than a consummation of a bargain and sale, and the bargain was made with their parents when the girls were quite young—usually before they were in their teens.

Mr. Huffaker says that he never knew but one Kansa Indian whom he considered converted to the Christian faith. His name was Sho-me-kos-se (a wolf). There was an interpreter at this school to assist the teachers, by the name of William Johnson, who was named after the first missionary to the tribe. This interpreter was fine-looking, intelligent, alert and withal a good man, although a full-blooded Indian.

This old Kaw Indian mission building is one of the most historic structures in Kansas, and at this date is in a perfect state of preservation. It is full two stories high, constructed of stone from the near-by quarry and native lumber from the original Council Grove. It has eight rooms, and in each gable are two large projecting stone fireplace chimneys; the walls are very thick; the general appearance of the structure is solid and quaint, and the surroundings are very romantic. It is still used as a residence, and, strange to relate, only a few months ago Judge Huffaker and his wife moved back to live again within its walls, which sheltered them over a half-century ago, when they taught the Indians before Kansas was even a territory.

It has been used for many purposes—as schoolhouse, council-house, court-house, meeting-house, and a fortress during the Indian raids and scares of frontier days, when it was a coveted stronghold to which the early settler often fled for safety. Governors and officers of the state and the army have been entertained in this building. Often it has been the retreat and welcome resting-place for explorers, travelers and tired missionaries on their way to Mexico and the far Southwest, when homes and places of entertainment were few and far between. Once Governor Reeder and party stopped here for two days on an expedition to select a site for the territorial capital, and probably Council Grove would have been chosen had it not been for the uncertainty of title to the Kansa Indian lands. This old structure stands on the bank of the Neosho river, in the north part of the present city, and is close by the ancient river ford. Years ago, at a near-by spot, an old foot-bridge was constructed for use during high water, and all the surroundings of this old Indian mission are both attractive and romantic.

It was unfortunate that the United States government did not spend more money in this educational effort with this tribe. This school should not have been closed simply because the cost per pupil reached fifty dollars annually, especially when we consider the rich domain along the Kansas valley and elsewhere which the tribe surrendered to the government for a mere trifle of its real worth. Many of the pupils were fairly quick to learn and succeeded along certain lines of literary work, but they did not represent the children of the best element of the tribe. The full-blooded, aristocratic type of Indian considered it degrading in the extreme to be taught the white man's education. They were honest in this, for they believed it would weaken them in all the elements which preserved the true Indian character. Few white men of their acquaintance were worthy of example. In this they were different from the emigrant Indians, some of whom advocated and encouraged educational and religious movements. Strange as it may seem, from 1854 to 1873 there was practically no missionary or religious ef-



In a wheat-field — "A Cabin of the Kaws."

fort made with this tribe. They were left to grow up in their old-time ignorance and superstition.

During the summer of 1855 over 400 of the tribe were the victims of smallpox.²⁵ Their burying-grounds are scattered along the Neosho valley and on the neighboring slopes. Cultivation has obliterated many graves, except where the lands have been used for pasture. There the scars on the earth are still visible, where the piles of stones or flat slabs are mute reminders of that dreadful scourge which has so often decimated the tribes of the West.

One peculiarity about the type of smallpox among the Kaws was that it did not seem to spread from the Indians to the whites. Mr. Huffaker and other whites who were with the Indians in all stages of the contagion never took it, and their observation was that it could not be transmitted from an Indian to a white man. The only white man in Council Grove who had the disease got it from a negro slave who took it from the Indians. This white man took care of the negro in his sickness and died, while the negro recovered. The negro was returned to his owner at Independence.

NOTE 25.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report, 1885, p. 434.

After the treaty of 1859, when the Kaw reservation was reduced in size to what was known as the diminished reserve, the agency of the tribe was moved from Council Grove to a point about four miles southeast of the city, near the mouth of the Big John, where some of the buildings remain to-day. The government constructed substantial buildings, consisting of the agency house and stables, storehouse, council-house, and two large frame school buildings. They were principally constructed from native oak and black walnut lumber sawed out of the forests along the river. The large school buildings were the most interesting, one of which was for the families of the people connected with the school and for training the young Indians in cooking and other domestic ways. The other building, a long, two-story structure, was for classes and school purposes. At about the same time that these agency buildings were put up the government also built some 150 small stone cottages or cabins along the valley on the reservation for the individual use of Indian families; the plan being to educate and civilize the tribe as much as possible, and to teach them to farm and care for themselves, as the best foundation and really the only means of improving them in a moral and religious way. The government erected these buildings from Indian funds, and the educational efforts were put in charge of the Quakers, with Mathon Stubbs as manager.²⁶

School was opened on the 1st of May, 1863, and continued until September, 1866, when the agent, Maj. Henry W. Farnsworth, reported that the effort had been a failure because of the lack of missionary work among both children and adults; that to have good results it was necessary that the children should be "better fed, better clothed and better cared for in every respect than the children at home." The school was resumed in 1869, and continued until June, 1873, when the tribe removed to the Territory. This last effort was more successful, the parents influencing the children to attend, and sending a larger proportion of girls.²⁷

Mr. Stubbs was the agent of the Kansa until they went to their present location in the Territory in 1873. Very few of the tribe would ever consent to live in the comfortable stone houses provided for their use, claiming that houses would breed disease, and were not as healthy as wigwams and lodges.

Prior to their going to the Territory very few learned to farm, and those few in an indifferent and careless manner, and so the Quaker effort with the tribe was as unsuccessful as that of the Methodist nearly twenty years before.

The Kaws never took kindly to the religion of the whites. They said: "It may be all right for you, we don't know, but ours is better for us." They were not as much given even to Indian religious ceremonies as many other tribes, and what they had and their beliefs they carefully guarded, and they were very reticent to express themselves. They believed in a Great Spirit they called Wau-con-dah, the Manitou of the other tribes, but had many grotesque superstitions bordering on polytheism, for there were in-

NOTE 26.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Reports, 1863-'66, 1869-'73.

NOTE 27.—United States Senator Curtis was a pupil at this school at one time. His parents lived in North Topeka, but his mother being a member of the Kansa nation (one-quarter blood) he was sent over to attend the tribal school. Senator Curtis and his three children are recognized allotment members of the tribe, and have been given their due proportion of the tribal lands at the Oklahoma reservation. Our senator's lineage runs thus: Charles Curtis, son of Capt. Orren A. Curtis and his wife Ellen Pappan; Ellen Pappan, daughter of Louis Pappan and his wife Julie Gonville; Julie Gonville, daughter of Louis Gonville and his wife, who was a daughter of the Kansa Chief White Plume or Wom-pa-wa-ra (He who scares all men).



Group of Kaw Indians, about 1870, in full dress. Wa-mun-ka-wa-sha, with shield; Sha-ga-in-ka, with horns; Margaret Ma-hun-gah, with papoose, belle of the Kaws

ferior gods or spirits everywhere—in the seasons, in light, in darkness, in heat and cold, over the rivers, plains, woods, hunting, war, etc.; but they were all inferior to Wau-con-dah, the “Great Ghost of Heaven.”

Some thought that his home was in the sun, some in the moon. The sundance was originally a religious ceremony. Probably no tribe in the United States so close to the border of civilization was as little influenced by religious and educational efforts.

During the years they occupied the Council Grove reservation they jealously preserved many of their ancient customs—their religion and superstitions, and it is sad to relate that their contact with their white brothers was more of a curse than a blessing. The early traveler who visited them one or two hundred years ago found a far better, healthier and happier people than the insignificant remnant of a once great tribe that was hustled off to the Indian Territory in 1873. During these later years of contact with the whites the vices acquired far exceeded the benefits or virtues received. Teachers and agents might be ever so able and zealous for their welfare, but drunkenness and its kindred vices, which they learned from the mercenary white man and Greaser who cared nothing for them but the robes and pelts they traded, destroyed completely the influence of the missionary and teacher, and left the last estate of the tribe far more abject and deplorable than the first.

THE CHEYENNE RAID.

On the morning of June 2, 1868, there appeared on the hills west of Council Grove several hundred well-armed and mounted Cheyenne and Arapahoe warriors. Their coming, which had been heralded, was looked

for with much apprehension²⁸ until it was known that they only desired to fight the Kaws, against whom they had a grudge of long standing, intensified by a late encounter.²⁹ The Kaws had gone the previous October to hunt on the Arkansas, and were overtaken by a party of Arapahoes, who, while feigning friendship, stole thirty-four Kaw ponies, leaving the latter tribe so unhorsed that they could not recover their property. While in this condition, near Fort Zarah in December, they were attacked by a party of Cheyennes, whom they charged, and after a spirited fight of four hours, drove them from the field, leaving fourteen Cheyennes killed and many others wounded, losing themselves but two killed and several wounded.

The Cheyennes were led by their noted war-chief, Little Robe, and made an imposing display as they filed through the old town of Council Grove on their way to battle. The scattering white settlers along the Neosho, Cottonwood, Diamond creek and other streams hastened to the various frontier towns and ranches, and organized provisional companies of rangers for general protection. The Indian battle, the last one this far east in Kansas, took place near the agency, a few miles southeast of town. The Kansa warriors, assisted by several experienced whites, secreted themselves along the banks of Big John creek above the agency, and following the advice of their white friends refused to engage in battle out in the open bottoms. A number of Kansa Indians had seen service in the Union army and had learned the advantage of protected positions. The experience of the Kaws in the rebellion may have added to their prowess as fighters. Major Farnsworth, in 1864, reported that "nearly a full company of the young men are in the second year of their service in the Union army in the rebel states."

This turn of affairs discomfited the Cheyennes, who had come prepared for fighting on horseback in plains fashion, and after several ineffectual charges and failures to dislodge their enemies, they made a hasty retreat

NOTE 28.—Senator Charles Curtis, one of the United States senators from Kansas, was attending school at the Kaw agency at the time of the Cheyenne raid, and made a record-breaking race on foot from Council Grove to North Topeka, the home of his parents. The following, regarding this exploit, appeared in the *Topeka Capital* during his candidacy for the senate:

"Thirty-five years ago," continued Senator Morehouse in a reminiscent vein, "a little North Topeka boy of about seven summers was making his home with some relatives at the old Kaw Indian agency adjoining Council Grove, in Morris county. He was a lad of fine features, somewhat shy and reserved, and of delicate and diminutive physique.

"It was the day before the noted Cheyenne raid, when the hordes of picked and painted warriors of that noted tribe suddenly appeared from the pathless plains and filed down into the beautiful Neosho valley and through the streets of Council Grove to fight their old enemies, the Kaws. The plainsman, David Lucas, had just arrived after a daring ride of forty-five miles across country from Marion with the startling tidings that Chief Little Robe and his braves were coming. Great excitement prevailed, and the few settlers scattered along the creeks, warned by the outriders and the clanging peals of the old bell swinging from its high tower on Belfry hill, hastily gathered at Council Grove, the nearest 'city of refuge.'

"A council of war was being held by the chief braves of the Kaws and a number of their white friends, who were going to help them in their defense against the Cheyennes, now expected at any hour. This quiet little boy stood by, and, listening to the war talk of the elders and plans of defense, resolved that he would be the first to carry the news of the impending danger across the country to his folks at Topeka. On foot and alone, with that fearlessness and independence characteristic of the coming man, he took a short cut over the hills and prairies in the direction of his native city. Guided by instinct and "night's candles," the shining stars, he covered the fifty miles in a space of time that would do credit to a horseman. He demonstrated running abilities that have never known defeat.

"Years passed by, and that little boy worked up the ladder of success, round after round, with a pluck, energy and ability worthy of the highest praise and emulation. As newsboy, hack-driver, office-boy, student, lawyer, county attorney, step by step he developed qualities of the highest character and the serene self-reliance that have given him a national reputation during the ten years he has so ably represented the interests of his native state in the halls of Congress.

"From the time of that exciting frontier episode to the present our people have watched the expanding career of their little friend, and our old soldiers, old settlers, young men, and everybody — almost regardless of party — have taken pride in his success."

NOTE 29.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, p. 260.

back to their home on the plains. On their way back they committed a number of depredations, such as killing stock and robbing houses. While this raid was exciting, none were killed on either side, and the number of wounded was very light. Fought under other conditions, in the open, with both forces on horseback, it would probably have been a bloody affair, with the chances against the Kansa; for they never were as well mounted as the Cheyennes—the well-known “Bedouins of the plains.”

As long as the buffalo lasted, the tribe sent annual hunting parties out to the buffalo country, and this going back and forth wore a well-defined trail.³⁰ This trail, still visible in places, passed through the counties of Morris, Marion, McPherson, and into Rice county, where this tribe for a long time had been accustomed to establish their camp at the forks of Cow creek. This was right in the heart of the finest hunting country, and was a handy place to pitch their teepees, dry their meat, and cure their furs and robes. They went out in the fall and often stayed all winter, sending back, however, supplies of meat to those who had to stay at home. This finally became a well-worn road and was known as the Kaw trail.

THE KANSA ADMITTED INTO THE NORTHWESTERN CONFEDERACY.

The treaties under which the Wyandot, Shawnee, Delaware, Pottawatomie, Ottawa, Chippewa, Peoria and Miami Indians came to Kansas or the West provided that their lands should never come under the jurisdiction of any territory or state. When bills were introduced into Congress as early as 1844, looking to the formation of Nebraska territory,³¹ these emigrant tribes became much exercised, for they could see that their treaty rights were sooner or later to be violated. This led to a peaceful demonstration on their part—the reorganization of the northwestern confederacy of tribes and the calling of an Indian congress, which met near Fort Leavenworth in October, 1848. This confederacy consisted of the above-named tribes, which had been in league for a hundred years in their eastern home.

Two other tribes were admitted into this confederacy, the Kansa and Kickapoo. This was a prominent recognition of the Kansa, for all the other nine tribes forming this confederacy were emigrants from Eastern states, the Kansa Indians alone being natives.³²

In several ways the Kansa manifested enterprise in attempting to adapt

NOTE 30.—For a full description of this Indian highway, and numerous customs of the tribe while at Council Grove, see the author's article, “Along the Kaw Trail,” in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 8, p. 206.

NOTE 31.—In 1835, Rev. Isaac McCoy, in his *Annual Register of Indian Affairs*, refers to the establishment of a government for the Indian Territory in these words:

“Most of the tribes within the Territory have expressed a desire to become united in one civil compact, and be governed by laws similar to those of the United States. Should the United States provide for them a form of civil government, suited to their circumstances, a few among each of the emigrant tribes, and many among some of those tribes, would be found capable of filling responsible offices in the transaction of the affairs of their government.”

In the third number of the same publication, 1837, Mr. McCoy enlarges upon this theme, and copies from a report made by Horace Everett, May 20, 1834, on a bill for the establishment of a general government for the Indian Territory and its representation by a delegate at Washington. In April, 1837, Mr. McCoy, under instructions, selected a tract of land near the Ottawa mission for the seat of government of this anticipated territory, which was never organized. In the *Annual Register of 1835*, page 3, is the following description of the bounds of the Indian Territory:

“By the Indian Territory is meant the country within the following limits, viz.: Beginning on Red river, east of the Mexican boundary, and as far west of Arkansas territory as the country is habitable; thence down Red river eastwardly to Arkansas territory; thence northwardly along the line of Arkansas territory to the state of Missouri; thence north along its western line to Missouri river; thence up Missouri river to Puncak river; thence westwardly as far as the country is habitable; thence southwardly to the beginning.”

NOTE 32.—W. E. Connelley, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 6, p. 99.

themselves to the advancing civilization of the whites, and it is a pity that they did not receive that degree of assistance from both state and church they would receive to-day could the scroll of history be turned back. Our present United States senator, Charles Curtis, has informed me that this tribe was the first to ask for a division of tribal funds and lands among individual Indians, and that it prepared and presented a bill in Congress to that effect.

THE KANSA NOT INCLINED TO AGRICULTURE.

Some have unfairly criticised the Kansa Indians because they did not take to agriculture and adopt other ways of the whites as readily as some other tribes. In such matters we should not hastily draw conclusions, but remember that the Kansa had fewer opportunities and more hindrances than most tribes.

Generally speaking, the squaws alone were the tillers of the soil, where any was tilled, and the bearers of all menial burdens. This was custom, handed down for ages, and was not considered any indignity heaped upon the women. They did not want the braves to work, never made complaints, and would scorn to object to their tasks. The duty of the braves was to hunt and to fight, and to consider those things which were for the general good of the tribe as a nation. According to their ideals of true Indian character, servile duties about the camp or village, or any labor of the white man's kind, were to them degrading in the extreme.

While this was not in harmony with the standards of the civilization the whites would thrust upon them, it was not improper from a wise economy in true Indian life. In a pure state of Indian society, where skill and prowess in hunting and on the war path were at the very foundation of success, and even of tribal existence itself, it was necessary that the braves be as free as possible from the small details and toils of camp life, that they might become proficient along those lines which brought strength and renown to their tribe.

For years the Kansa, though few in numbers compared with the hostile tribes which beset them, maintained a proud standing as a nation of fighters. This could not be done with the braves following the cultivation of the fields. It was no idle excuse they once made for not devoting more time to agricultural pursuits, when they said they were afraid to work for fear the Pawnees would come upon them and kill them all off.³³

At different times the government appointed a farmer to instruct them along lines of agriculture. The Indians called this official Wah-gos-see, *the farmer*.

The first one appointed was Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the Kentucky pioneer, who opened a farm at the first Kaw agency in Jefferson county, in the fall of 1827, on the north bank of the Kansas, about seven miles northwest of Lawrence.³⁴ In 1835, when the tribe had become established in western Shawnee county, he cultivated two farms of 300 acres each in the Kansas valley, one of which was on north side of the river, about fifteen miles above Topeka, and the other near the Mission creek villages. John T. Peery was farmer during the years 1845-'46. At Council Grove some 300 acres of the richest Neosho valley bottom-land was prepared and some little success

NOTE 33. — Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report, 1842, p. 63.

NOTE 34. — Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 195. A full description of the agency and farm are here given.

made in raising corn; but very few of the braves would consent to work steadily in the fields, it being the work of the squaws. In 1863 T. S. Huffaker was the official farmer.

After the tribe moved to Oklahoma, in 1873, greater progress along the line of farming and stock-raising was made, and a number of them have done fairly well.

The following report of the farmer is worthy of notice, among other items stating that over eighty braves had enlisted in the United States army during that year:

“KANSAS AGENCY, September 15, 1863.

“SIR—I submit this as my report for the past year as farmer for the Kansas Indians. The Indians are still laboring under the same disadvantages mentioned in my last annual report, the same insufficient number of oxen, plows and other agricultural implements; but they have, notwithstanding these difficulties, been able to plant more than 300 acres of ground, from which they will gather some eight or nine thousand bushels of corn. They have devoted most of their time to the raising of corn, being better acquainted with the culture of corn than of other products. Many families have been unable to cultivate their farms as they should, owing to the fact that many of their able-bodied men have gone into the army, of whom more than eighty have enlisted in the United States service during the last year. The Indians are well pleased with their new mode of life, and say they do not desire to exchange their present mode for the former. They, to commence another year favorably, should be furnished with an additional number of oxen, plows, etc., say twice the number they now have.

T. S. HUFFAKER,
Farmer for Kansas Indians.”

NEGLECT OF THE KANSA IN EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HELP.

One of the most pitiful failures of the whites in the educational and religious betterment of an Indian tribe is to be found in the illy directed efforts followed with the Kansa nation. It was so marked and far-reaching in its influences that I would not feel like leaving this subject without calling attention to it.

If the same wise and persistent energy had been used with this tribe by the United States and by church organizations as was used with the Osages, the result would have been far different. The United States commenced to take an interest in both these tribes about the same time, and began to treat with them regarding their lands, etc., but in some way the poor Kansa were cheated at every turn in the road; robbed of their richest lands without just recompense, and at last became beggars, when they should have been as wealthy as the Osage.

In 1825, the Kansa were induced to sell their right to about one-half of the richest part of the great state of Kansas for a mere pittance, that a lot of immigrant tribes might be provided with homes.³⁵ They surrendered their happy home and far-reaching hunting-grounds, the region occupied by their tribe for ages and which supplied all their wants, were driven from one diminished reserve to another, till they had to depend entirely upon the charity of Uncle Sam for daily sustenance, and at last accept as a refuge an inferior corner of the Osage lands in Oklahoma.

The government, after taking away its mighty domain, made only spasmodic efforts toward civilizing the tribe. From the date of the St. Louis treaty of June 3, 1825, when the tribe was despoiled of an empire, down to

NOTE 35.—Miss Abel's "Indian Reservations in Kansas," in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, pp. 75, 76, 98.



Wa-mun-ka-wa-sha, a brave.



Ma-ja-ho-ja, an Indian boy, about 1870.

its removal to the Indian Territory in 1873, nearly half a century, not to exceed a total of twelve years of educational advantages was provided for them, and that of a very ordinary and half-hearted character.

At Mission creek, Shawnee county, Rev. J. T. Peery kept a few Indian children at the mission house and taught them one year. Prior to this, a few Kansa children attended the manual-labor school at Shawnee Mission, in Johnson county. In 1847 the tribe was removed to their diminished reserve at Council Grove. Four years passed and nothing was done for them in an educational way. In 1851 the Kaw Indian mission school was started, but ran for only four years, closing in 1854.

Nineteen years elapsed from the close of this school to the removal of the tribe to the Territory, and yet, during this long period, not a thing was done for the tribe in a religious way, and in education only eight years, at most, when there was school at the agency near Council Grove, supported by the government and conducted by the Quakers. The tribe lived at Council Grove about twenty-five years in all, and during that time for only about twelve years was there any school opened for the training of their children, and that of such limited character that it reached but few.

But what seems strangest, during that entire quarter of a century no resident missionary or priest of the Gospel was maintained by the government or any church denomination to live with and labor for this tribe. In all this time, the only thing of an uplifting character was the mission and the Quaker school referred to, and it must be remembered that these were educational efforts and not religious.

During this period Council Grove grew to be a smart business town and one of the early centers of Kansas civilization, noted for its good schools, good society and good churches, but nothing of a religious character was

undertaken with this tribe. Two branches of the Methodist church were organized, besides Presbyterian, Congregational and other churches, all for the whites. These took an active interest in the heathen on the other side of the world, and collections for the support of missions among them, but nothing was done to carry the religion of the Cross to these benighted wards at our very doors.

It was not only a blunder on the part of the government, but it was criminal after cheating them out of their Kansas valley homes to remove them to Council Grove. Here they were placed near a trading center on the Santa Fe trail, where their contact with *piejeme* (fire-water), the whisky of the whites, and other vices, proved far more injurious than any knowledge of civilization received could overcome. Here they were totally neglected in a religious way, and only experiments of a brief and ineffectual nature undertaken for their education.

Some have been inclined to make critical comparisons between the Kansa and Osage Indian tribes, and tried to explain the differences between them on the unfair assumption that these two tribes were of different types, different capacities, different languages. This is all erroneous and very unfair; the only difference to the credit of the Osages has been brought about because they were treated in a better manner by both state and church.

In language, there is no greater difference than exists between Northern and Southern state dialects. Originally they were the same people, and when the government first assumed to shape their future they were of the same class of Indians—having the same customs, habits and attire, and were the same physically, mentally and morally. No, the difference came from the neglect of one tribe and favoritism for the other.

Is it any wonder that their Osage brothers, who were always the recipients of patient and persistent educational and religious attention by devoted missionaries of the Catholic church, far outstripped the Kansa Indians in wealth, energy, business capacity in preserving their rights, and advanced further along educational and religious lines?

The Kansa, neglected by state and church, fell before an unfair contest with the white man's civilization, while the Osages, who since 1827 have been the favored ones in business bargains with the government, and the special charge of a devoted and continued missionary effort on the part of such devoted teachers as Fathers Charles Van Quickenborne, Shoenmakers, Ponziglione, Mother Superior Bridget Hayden, and others, are now among the most prosperous of western tribes.

What a different tale to relate regarding the Kansa had they been treated honestly, their imperial home ground from Manhattan to Topeka and eastward been preserved for their use, and had they been given the same wise and continuous educational and moral advantages as were given the Osages. Instead of being the sorry remnant, destined to obliteration, they might have been filling the same important part in Kansas affairs now occupied by the Osages in Oklahoma.

No one should point the finger of scorn at the Kansa Indians and make unfair comparisons without considering these facts.

THE KANSA LANGUAGE NEVER REDUCED TO WRITING.

While there have been numerous publications in the Siouan tongue, covering as wide a scope as in any other linguistic group of North-American Indians, it is strange that nothing of consequence was ever attempted in the Kansa dialect. Other tribes of the Siouan family, such as the Omaha, Ponka, Iowa, Oto, Missouri and Osage, have had many school-books published, and several of them have had prayer-books and portions of the Bible printed in their dialects. If anything of this kind was ever done for the Kansa nation, it is not now to be found. When we realize the fact that while extensive scholastic and religious efforts were made among most other tribes the Kansa Indians were often entirely neglected for periods of from ten to twenty-five years, it is no wonder that they made such slow progress along these lines. Apparently the Kansa language was never reduced to an exact system of writing; that tribe had but little, if any, help from text-books, dictionaries, parts of the Bible, etc., as did the other tribes, and so very little has ever been done to preserve the features of the language of this once important nation, the early history of which is so interesting and important as a part of the annals of our state. While it has been generally understood that nothing was ever printed in this language, and the writer has always been so informed by old members of the tribe, their later agents and teachers, and the government authorities at Washington, I was very much surprised to run across recently the evidence that a small book was once printed in the Kansa language, although, as yet, a copy has not been found for placing in the collections of the Historical Society. The clew to the fact that there was such a publication was a mere mention on page 567 of McCoy's History of Baptist Indian Missions, 1840. Among the books given as being printed on the Meeker press at the Shawnee Baptist mission, it states: "In Osage, one; in Kauzau, one for the Methodists."

Afterward I found, in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* of June, 1839, in a report of the work of their mission printing-press at "Shawanoë, Ind. Territory (Shawnee Mission, Johnson county), considerable mention of this lost Kansa book. Report for 1839:

"The following works have been printed at the Shawanoë press, exclusive of the *Shawanoë Sun*, in addition to those printed last year:

"Harmony in Delaware.....	80pp.	Addit.,	16mo.,	40,000
"Hymns in Delaware.....	48pp.	"	24mo.,	19,200
"*Kauzas Book in Kanzas.....	24pp.	"	12mo.,	7,200"

Another mention is made of the Kansa book in the report of 1840, viz.:

"Mr. Pratt had printed, besides completing the Delaware harmony and hymn book, a continuation of Matthew in Shawanoë, 32 pp., 16mo.; 500 copies the Epistle of John in Delaware; for the Methodist mission, 32 pp., 12mo., 500 copies and 600 sheet tracts.

"The amount of printing executed from February, 1838, to November, 1839, (exclusive of the *Shawanoë Sun*, in Shawanoë,) in Shawanoë, Delaware, and Kauzas, was 2500 copies, or 58,600 8vo. pp."

James C. Pilling, in his Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages, lists the books issued from the Meeker press, and says, "In the Kansas (Kanza) or Kaw language, one book was printed for Rev. William Johnson, the Methodist missionary. probably in 1836 or 1837." It was probably printed for the use of William Johnson, who at that time was missionary to the

*For the Methodist Episcopal Mission. The Indians manifest an increasing interest in the operations of the press."

tribe; whether it was ever used or not is not known. As will be seen by reference to note 8, page 102 of this volume, such books were short-lived. From the above account of the book, it appears that an edition of only 300 copies of a 24-page book was printed, or 7200 pages in all.³⁶

Rev. Wm. Johnson, who was with the tribe for seven years, never had a competent interpreter, and was thus much hindered in reaching the tribe through their own language, although before his death, in 1842, he became proficient in it. It is said that on his death-bed he advised against a further attempt to teach them through their own language, as he considered that it was deficient in words to properly present religious truth, and to try to teach by sign language was unsatisfactory. His idea was that they should first be taught the English language and instructed through that. Notwithstanding this gloomy view which Mr. Johnson took regarding the Kansa language, it must be remembered that our good Catholic brothers, under Fathers Van Quickenborne, Shoenmaker, Ponziglione, Mother Bridget Hayden and others, made considerable success along scholastic and religious lines in the use of the native tongue of the Osages during their forty years' steady labor with

NOTE 36.—The following statements regarding this matter have been received from Rev. Joab Spencer, sole surviving missionary to the Shawnees, and from Judge T. S. Huffaker, who was a teacher to the Kansa Indians and lived with them in various official capacities from 1850 to 1873. Both of these parties were well acquainted with missionaries and those working with the Kansa tribe prior to their time.

"Geo. P. Morehouse, Topeka, Kan.:

"SLATER, MO., July 16, 1907.

"MY DEAR SIR—Your letter received. The publication you mention was only a small text-book for use in the Mission school, as I understand. I was well acquainted with Mrs. Peery, who was Mrs. Wm. Johnson, and had charge of the school for the seven years they were in control of the Kansas mission, then located west of Topeka. Mr. Johnson had no competent interpreter, I am sure, at any time. In fact, his wife became interpreter for the mission, and also on different occasions for the government. You can rest assured that there never was a publication in their language. That printing office was a small affair. When I was with the Shawnees I found a few copies of the Shawnee New Testament printed by the Baptist brothers.

"Thos. Johnson told me it was a poor translation. The Shawnees were using a small hymn-book which had been printed by the Baptists, I think, but translated by our missionaries. I have a copy of that before me. I used it in all my services. Our missionaries to the Delawares also brought out a little hymn-book in that language. Rev. Mr. Meeker had charge of the printing business. Some time ago I had one of our pastors call on a daughter of Reverend Meeker in Kansas City for the purpose of obtaining anything that had been printed by her father, but she had nothing. The Johnsons have nothing, and Miss Gore (granddaughter of Blue Jacket, Shawnee chief,) made a search among the Shawnees in the Indian Territory, but found nothing but one hymn-book, the one I now have. As I am not well, you will excuse my rough letter.

Yours cordially,

JOAB SPENCER."

Judge Huffaker, who was visiting in Oklahoma, wrote as follows:

"Geo. P. Morehouse, Topeka, Kan.:

"FAIRFAX, OKLA., July 20, 1907.

"DEAR GEORGE:—Yours of the 12th instant received, and unanswered on account of sickness. As to the publication of a book in the Kaw or Kansa language by the Methodist Publishing House, I firmly believe to be without any foundation in fact. William Johnson was among them for seven years, learned their language thoroughly, and attempted to translate a religious song—intending to translate the New Testament if practicable. When I took charge of the United States government school, in 1849, at the old manual-labor school, now in Johnson county, Kansas, I met Mrs. Peery, who talked the Kaw fluently, and she often spoke of their effort (formerly she was Mrs. Wm. Johnson) to write the Kaw language, and stated that she and her husband decided that the twenty-six letters of the English alphabet could not spell the words of that language, and that they would have to use characters to represent words, and so they gave up the idea of translating the religious songs.

"They probably did print a small amount of matter to test it. I have no thought that there exists now or ever did exist any more than some manuscripts of this kind. Should there be anything of this kind in existence at present, it might be found in the Chick families of Kansas City.

Truly yours,

THOMAS S. HUFFAKER."

The chief of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, wrote as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1907.

"DEAR SIR:—I beg leave to say that the question of the book in the Kauzau language to which McCoy in his History of Baptist Indian Missions alludes, has been looked into carefully, but no trace of it has been found. It is not unlikely that a small religious work in the Kansa language was published at the Shawnee Mission, and that, having a purely local circulation, it did not find its way into eastern libraries at that time, but was practically consumed through use by the Indians. No such book is noted by Pilling, who is eminent for his completeness. Nevertheless I have instituted further search, and if any light can be thrown on the matter I shall be glad to inform you.

Yours very truly,

F. W. HODGE, Acting Chief."

that tribe. The language of these two tribes was really the same—only a slight difference in dialect.

Probably the efforts with the Kansa in their language would have been more successful had the good work of Missionary Johnson been subsequently continued and supported with the same zeal and patience used with the Osages and other tribes.

The Kansa language never had a fair test and should not be condemned along with the tribe as incapable of helping it to a higher state of civilization. It has always been the fashion for writers to belittle the character of this tribe and its language, and make unfair comparisons with other tribes whose advantages were far better, and whose language had been used extensively in various publications.

THE KANSA LANGUAGE.

While I have secured considerable material concerning the Kansa language, I will only make a few general observations in this paper on the subject.

There are some sixty different Indian languages in North America north of Mexico, which are as different from each other as French and German. These languages are divided into some eight hundred dialects.³⁷ Of the sixty distinct languages, five-sixths of them were found west of the Rocky Mountains, covering only one-tenth of the territory, while the others belonged to the tribes spread over the larger area of nine-tenths of North America east of the Rockies. Among the latter are found the great Siouan family, composed of sixty-eight tribes, of which Kansa is a member.

Five of these Siouan tribes form a group, speaking really the same language in four dialects: (1) Ponka and Omaha, known as Ponca, (2) Kansa, (3) Osage, and (4) Kwapa.

NOTE.

The present reservation of the tribe in Oklahoma consists of over one hundred thousand acres. It was set aside for their use in 1872, having been purchased from the Osage nation soon after it had been bought from the Cherokees by the Osages. It cost seventy cents per acre. The land is all in use for farming or grazing purposes and brings in considerable revenue. The general condition of the tribe has improved for some years past, and much enterprise was manifested in arranging the allotment of this reservation among the individual members of the tribe.

On July 1st, 1902, the last treaty agreement and memorial to Congress was ratified. It was a formal agreement among themselves for the division of the tribal lands and funds, and a general closing up of the business matters of the nation with the United States. Under this agreement there was set aside for each member a homestead of 160 acres, inalienable and non-taxable for twenty-five years. In addition to this homestead, each member of the tribe receives about 300 acres which cannot be sold or encumbered for a period of ten years. The division of the tribal funds gave each member about one thousand dollars, to be paid in ten instalments. This treaty also provided for an Indian boarding-school at the expense of the government.

In this treaty the tribe was ably represented by the following noted members of the tribe: Wah-shun-gah, the chief; Wah-moh-o-e-ke, Forest Chouteau, Mitchel Fronkier, William Hardy, Achan Pappan, and "General" W. E. Hardy. Achan Pappan was the interpreter and General Hardy the secretary of the tribe, positions they have held for many years.



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2

3

Famous Kaw Chiefs.

1. Al-le-ga-wa-ho; 2. Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, known as the "Fool Chief";
3. Wah-ti-an-gah.



Ah-ke-tah-shin-gah, a Typical Indian Brave.

ALONG THE KAW TRAIL.

An address by GEO. P. MOREHOUSE, of Council Grove, before the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the State Historical Society, December 1, 1903.

“Where late the savage hid in ambush lay,
Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey,
Her hardy gifts rough industry extends,
The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
And see, the spires of towns and cities rise,
And domes and temples swell into the skies!”

THE history of most of the overland highways of the West has been written. Being the routes of freighting, mail and express lines, white men know all about them. Some of the border tribes had well-defined trails over which they passed to and from their hunting-grounds and to engage in warfare. One of the most important and well known of these was the Kaw Indian trail, which traversed what is now included in the counties of Morris, Marion, McPherson, and Rice. Living for many years on this trail, in the southwest part of Morris county, when a boy, and daily crossing or following along portions of its course, makes me fairly familiar with its history and use, and, when in doubt, can ascertain the facts from old settlers, who have lived in Morris county since the '40's, and who have the fullest knowledge of all the movements of that peculiar tribe of Indians. Some have erroneously traced its course south from the Kaw reservation across Chase county, and on to the Arkansas. The real Kaw trail, and the only one the Kaws and our old-timers knew about, is still visible in many places, and was started and used under the following circumstances: The Kaw or Kansas Indians lived for a long time in the Kaw valley east of the present city of Manhattan. In 1847 they were moved to a reservation in the Neosho valley, adjoining Council Grove. Their three villages were down the river, and the Indian agency, the buildings of which still stand, was near the mouth of Big John creek, about four miles from Council Grove.

They had three separate villages, governed in a manner by three chiefs. Alle-ga-wa-ho, for many years their wisest leader, a man over six feet tall and noted as an eloquent Indian orator, presided at the village located on Cahola creek. Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, the “fool chief,” governed the village near the present site of the town of Dunlap. Wah-ti-an-gah held forth as chief at the village near the official agency. The “fool chief” was usually the hereditary principal chief, and it was a high and honorable title. Originally it was obtained by some remarkable act of bravery, daring, Indian prowess, even to being rash and fool-hardy; hence the term. The “fool chief” only maintained his distinction by continued personal courage, generosity, and good conduct, and also by being wise in counsel.

Annually the Kaws went hunting out to the great imperial pasture-grounds of the buffalo, and going back and forth wore a well-defined trail. It started from their headquarters, near the mouth of Big John creek, four miles southeast of Council Grove, and bore almost west, a little southwest, crossing Diamond creek within a few rods of the present site of the railway station at Diamond Springs. It entered Marion county near the old post-office of Bethel, on the head of Middle creek, and not far from the present site of the town of Lincolnville. From there it passed westward through Marion county and almost through the

center of McPherson county, and on to the forks of Cow creek, about three miles south of the present town of Lyons, near the center of Rice county. This was its western terminus, and for many years right in the heart of the finest buffalo-hunting country, which, for a long time, by common consent, was given up to the use of the Kaws.

Here they established their camp, pitched their teepees, dried their meat, and cured their furs and robes. The Kaws were great on "buffalo jerk" and prepared large quantities at their Cow creek camping-grounds. This was done by stripping or jerking buffalo meat into convenient strips, which were cured without salt in the sun and dry atmosphere of that region, by hanging on slender poles supported by forked sticks. It was quite an article of commerce and, baled up and packed home on ponies, frequently came into the hands of white men. My boyish tastes thought a piece of buffalo jerk was a toothsome morsel while riding around or hunting. They went out over this trail in early fall, many taking their families, and often stayed all winter.

One of the reasons for going out to the rich buffalo-grass region was to winter their ponies; for the blue-stem prairie-grass of Morris county was poor pasture after the fall frosts. Some returned late in fall, their pack ponies laden with fresh and dried meat, for the use of those of the tribe who had remained at home. The fresh buffalo saddles were often brought in with the skin on to keep them clean. Frequently, friendly white men went along to hunt and trade, and brought back meat and furs. In this way the Kaw trail became, to a degree, a wagon road, and it was used as such for several years, until blocked by the fences of the settlers. It was a very direct route in its direction, and finally the old star mail route between Council Grove and Marion (Center) used this trail over much of its course. This supplied the early post-offices of Hill Spring, Diamond Springs, Bethel, Lincolnville, and some others.

The Diamond Springs post-office mentioned is not the famous Diamond Springs on the Santa Fe trail at the head of Diamond creek, but the post-office five miles below, and near the present village of Diamond Springs.

This not being understood has caused mistaken ideas as to the course and crossing-place of the Santa Fe trail and Kaw trail over Diamond creek.

The Kaws might have traveled to and from their Cow creek hunting-grounds on the Santa Fe trail, but they wanted a road of their own. Their trail was almost parallel with that noted highway, from three to six miles south, but over a more broken country. It was more direct, for the Santa Fe trail wound around to keep on the higher divides, while the Kaw trail was almost "as straight as the crow flies," going up and down hills, across sharp ridges, when a slight detour would have avoided heavy pulls. We often wondered why these Indians were so set on keeping in this "straight and narrow path" over the roughest ground, when smoother land was to the north. A ruler placed on a map of Kansas, one end about three miles south of Council Grove and the other end about three miles south of Lyons, indicates very closely the exact course of this trail. It was not a single path, but in places the ground was cut up for a rod or two in width, and had many evidences of long usage.

We used to find sundry relics along this trail, for the Indians were not exempt from losing things.

Few of the Kaws ever had first-class firearms of any sort to hunt with. Their rifles were single-barrel, muzzle-loading, and of inferior grade. While most of them had rifles, I have seen them go on these hunts armed with only their trusty bow and arrows and belt knife. I never doubted their ability to kill the buffalo

with these simple-looking bows and little arrows after witnessing them kill a number of wild Texas cows in that primitive manner.

The Kaws were not noted for the best breed of ponies, but it was always said that when they returned from these western trips they had usually greatly improved their stock, bringing back some fine specimens, whether by trading or at the expense of the Cheyennes or other Indians the deponent saith not. They ordinarily traveled along the trail in single file, and, when returning, the pack ponies reeled under the weight of plunder or tugged at loads borne on two long poles fastened to their sides and extending back like long shafts, dragging on the ground. Often on top of a load of fresh or dried meat a squaw and pappoose would be perched, in all the glory of Indian life. The braves rode the best ponies, and some of them were beauties and very hardy, and some of them made good cattle ponies. I once owned one, understood to be a Cheyenne pony, that could travel all day on a brisk canter, and cover from seventy to eighty miles with ease. The Kaws always brought back large quantities of buffalo hides and other skins and furs. A trader once told me that he bought in one season nearly 1000 buffalo hides from that tribe. While they were good hunters, they never excelled in making the finest robes. A fine Cheyenne robe was worth as much as fifteen dollars, but half that sum was a good price for a Kaw robe. Traders often went out to their Cow creek camp to buy their products, and, in fact, they always liked to have some white hunters along, for it was a protection against trouble from other tribes. Sometimes the traders would have some Missouri apples, and the going rate was a red apple for a muskrat skin.

Indians were great lovers of apples, and my brother once traded a double-handful for a fine pair of beaded moccasins.

At first, when some of the early settlers fenced the bottom lands, through which the Kaw trail passed, the Indians resented it and summarily destroyed the fences and passed on. They felt that this old pathway was sacred and no one had a right to obstruct it. They said: "Have we not used it these many years, long before the white man appeared, and is it not ours? Along this trail are scattered the graves of our departed kindred and some of the great and wise men of our tribe. Does this not give us the first right, and is there not room for the white man's field, without saying to the Indian, 'You must not pass along the old trail of your fathers?'"

I often noticed these graves, usually on the top of some near bluff or high ground, and they were often covered with slabs of limestone, and invariably, the bones of the pony that was sacrificed at the burial marked the spot. In many places along this trail, on the highest points they had erected crude monuments, piles of rock which were visible for a long distance. This was done when the trail was first used, in order to direct the proper course. These, with some of the marked graves, will soon be all that will indicate its location and history; for most of the inhabitants along its route know little or nothing about it.

When the Cheyennes, under Little Robe, in 1868, made their famous raid into Morris county to fight the Kaws, they followed over most of this trail in coming and going. For several years after the Indians left, the settlers used the trail as a starting-point to burn back-fires against the consuming prairie conflagrations so destructive in those days. After and even before the Kaws were removed to the territory, in 1873, it was often the route of some of the great cattle drives which used to be made to Council Grove from the West; for this trail had better grass and water along it than the Santa Fe trail. From the Kaw reservation to their Cow creek camp was 100 miles, very picturesque and varied, crossing numerous creeks and fine watering places, the principal ones of which were

Four Mile, Diamond, Middle, Clear and Muddy creeks, Cottonwood river, Turkey creek, Little Arkansas river, and Cow creek.

For many years the Kaws claimed the territory now embraced in Marion, Dickinson, McPherson, Saline, Rice and Ellsworth counties as their exclusive hunting grounds, and their trouble with other tribes was caused because this claim was disputed. At some of these creek crossings, where their most favorable camping-grounds were located, their wigwam poles were often left standing in place, ready for the skin coverings the next time they came along. This saved them work and carrying so many camp equipments. I will have to confess that we boys were wont to pull them up and carry them away at times.

When the cavalcade of returning Kaws reached their home villages near Council Grove, great was their reception by those who had remained at home. It meant a feast of fat things—buffalo meat (fresh and dried), venison steaks and stews. It meant buffalo-robcs, deer and wolf skins, and other peltries, to be sold or wrought into needed garments and coverings. Besides, there was a sort of general rejoicing by the entire tribe, that the hunters had been prospered with success and safely returned to their secure and comfortable lodges along the timber-lined banks of the sheltering Neosho. After the usual Indian salutations, the robes, skins and meats were properly stored or hung up for use. Later on some of these would be brought to Council Grove and traded for those supplies which they craved. This home-coming of the hunters soon wrought up the entire village into a perfect hubbub of excitement. Powwows, great and small, were held, and all the experiences of the hunt related in detail, embellished with the most vivid and boastful language, and it was the opportunity for some of their peculiar dances.

Those braves who had performed special acts of prowess or skill in the chase, or perchance in any personal encounter with their old enemies, the Cheyennes or Pawnees, were given prominent seats in the council circle, and some soon became so puffed up with their importance that they strutted about the villages, and even up to Council Grove, bragging of their valor, and received the plaudits of the tribe.

The Kaws had three principal dances—sun-dance, dog-dance, and war-dance. These dances all had their particular seasons and significance. The sun-dance was always given out-of-doors, and had indications of religious origin. Originally it was in honor of the "sun hero," a god only inferior to the Great Spirit, their Manitou or Wacanda, who was "the great ghost of heaven and highest wind god," in the parlance of the Indians, and the god to whom all other spirits, as the sun hero and moon goddess, were always subordinate. The sun-dance was circular, as most all their dances, and was accompanied by the usual music, weird songs, and grotesque movements, but they were not dressed up in the hideous costumes worn at the dog-dance or the great war-dance. Squaws often took part in the sun-dance in some of its modifications, and were properly gowned for the high occasion. Their faces were brilliant with vermilion, yellow, and green, while their robes, leggings and dresses scintillated with a unique passementerie of bright beads and skilfully wrought quill and quail-bone work. Their taper arms were decorated with circles of shining brass bracelets and rings of silver, while shells and other ornaments dangled from their dusky ears. All the dress toggery and showy valuables and heirlooms of the tribe were donned in richest profusion by way of personal adornment. The Kaws were always noted for being able to unpack and display a great wealth of dress ornaments, some of which had been handed down in the tribe for generations.

The most handsome natural adornment of the squaws was their jet-black



Group of Kaw Indians in full dress. Wa-mun-ka-wa-sha, with shield; Sha-ga-in-ka, with horns;
Margaret Ma-hun-gah, with pappoose, belle of the Kaws.

hair, parted in the middle over their heads and down to their necks behind, and ending in two beautiful braids of black.

Round and round the circle they moved, in single and double lines, and at times their movements were not unlike the dances of the whites.

Forward, around the circle by couples they would go; then the braves would move backward with shuffling step and squaws and girls would follow, and *vice versa*, while through it all were the monotone songs and the drumming notes of the Indian tambourines.

The dog dance was often given in honor of visitors, and in many ways was nothing more than a war-dance of modified and abbreviated form.

They were not as particular to dress in such fanciful and hideous costumes as in the war-dance, but often made as much noise. None but braves took part in the dog-dance, which at times was performed in the largest lodges, but usually outside, and always around a fire.

They would rush into a lodge containing strangers with such fierce yells that it was frightful to hear. After shrill songs, they performed the circular movement to the music of rattles, drums, and the Indian flutes or whistles. After they had exhausted themselves, they rushed out and away as suddenly as they came, and it was all over for that day.

The Kaws on these occasions had three musical instruments—the usual tomtom or drum, strings of rattles, and the flute or whistle.

The drums were really enlarged forms of tambourines, made of a wooden frame, over which, on one end, was stretched prepared green buffalo hide, which, when dried and properly pounded with a stick, sent forth sonorous and stirring sounds. Strings of dried deer's feet were used as rattles, but the best were the gourd rattles. These were made by taking small dried gourds and by placing bullets or pebbles inside, and when deftly shaken produced a quick, rattling sound, which was peculiar to the castanets of these primitive people. The Kaws made and used a wind instrument, a sort of Indian flute, and some were deft in executing a subdued music for the more plaintive and weird parts of their dances and ceremonies.

By far the most interest attached to the great war- or scalp-dance, for in this ceremony entered the strongest emotions of the tribe. If some of the returned warriors over the trail had brought proof of their boasted valor—some fine ponies or a few scalp-locks that once belonged to a hereditary foe of the tribe, which had been met and vanquished—great was the rejoicing, and the elements for a first-class war-dance existed. As the day advanced, the entire tribe seemed to become oblivious to everything except the increasing excitement and the Indian fervor displayed. The chief warriors paraded through the villages and visited the principal lodges. They were followed by shouting, singing mobs of admirers, who related their deeds of valor and chanted their praises. Decrepit old braves and squaws came forth and blessed them, while the more active and younger squaws prepared a feast of the choicest meats for the heroes of their families and protectors of the tribe.

During the day the young men cut and piled a huge pyramid of wood, and all preparations were completed for the great war-dance. Frequently parties from Council Grove went down to witness the unique scene. Stripped to the waist, in the seclusion of their lodges, the braves performed their fantastic toilets, by painting their dark skins with wonderful dotted and striped combinations of vermilion, yellow, green, and black.

The Kaws were among the few tribes whose braves shaved their heads. They only left a comb or elongated tuft on top of the head extending back over

the scalp-lock. Their only garments were clout, leggings, and moccasins. The war head-dress was also worn, being a band around the head, upon which were often attached two cow horns, and extending down their backs a plait or line of turkey or eagle feathers. Some sported necklaces of bears' claws or elk teeth. Each one carried a full complement of arms—bows and arrows, lance, and often a shield, from which hung any prized scalps they possessed. The measured tones of the sounding drums announce that all is ready; the fires are lighted, and the hideous painted and decorated braves come rushing out of the lodges and wigwams with shrieks and war-cries that none will ever forget. In the full panoply of all this hideousness, they quickly gather in a circle around the blazing fire. For a time they stand and go through all varieties of yells and mingled war-whoops of triumph and delight, which echo along the valley. The leader of the band raises his lance and strikes three times on the ground or upon a shield, the musicians make some extra flourishes with the rattles and drums, and the great war-dance is on in full blast. Round and round the roaring fire they circle, now following each other, and now facing the center, their painted and decorated bodies swaying up and down, in and out, in exact time to the peculiar rhythm of the music.

Their odd, hitching step was a sort of forward-now-backward movement, as if they wanted to advance but could not—one knee stiff and the other bent; and with a monotonous regularity they uttered their war songs, the principal vocal accompaniment and continuous repetition of which was "hi' yi, hi' yi," *ad infinitum*, with strong accent on the first syllable. No matter how long the dance lasted, usually through the night and far into the following day, this monotonous utterance never varied, but was, of course, interspersed with other shouts, whoops, and yells, as well as songs. At times their voices seemed to fail, and the howlings lapsed into a drone of measured and subdued tones and the chanting songs ceased, but the "hi-yi, hi-yi," went on continuously; neither was there any cessation of rattling gourds nor the throbbing and heavy undertones of the drums until the dance ended. At times the musicians would enter the great circle and march round the fire in contrary direction to the moving mass. Now, some one would step out and chant the deeds of some particular brave, and all the dancers and all outside the charmed circle would take up the strain and renewed excitement prevailed. The march is quickened, the shrill war whoops rise high above the monotonous din, while the clashing shields and fluttering scalp-locks work them again to a perfect frenzy of tribal fervor, in which all engage—the squaws, old men, boys, and maidens, as well as the regular dancers.

After a dance was over the ground was marked for a long time by the continuous circling, which left a beaten ring, something like a horse-power or the circle of an abandoned circus ring. The dance was usually held in the sheltering opening of some heavy grove near the river. The blazing firelight, the flitting shadows and all the weird and mixed variety of unusual sights and sounds created an impression upon a casual visitor long to be remembered.

Since 1873 the Kaws, few in number and slow to adjust themselves to the crowding civilization of the times, have lived on a small reservation in the Indian Territory. Few of their noted warriors are alive, but occasionally small bands of the tribe or solitary individuals visit the Neosho valley and recall the scenes of other days. They stoically survey the changes around their former homes. The sites of their three villages are now covered by highly cultivated farms, and where their permanent lodges and decorated teepees once stood the comfortable homes of the present owners of the fee embellish the landscape. The graves of their ancestors and the course of the trail in the valley are leveled

and obliterated by the mold and cultivation of years. However, for many miles west of their old reservation it is plainly visible, and in the large pastures and on some of the near-by prairie slopes may yet be found the graveyards of the tribe. These they can visit, and travel for a few miles along their old-time highway. But where is Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, their great "fool chief" and brave warrior? Where is Al-le-ga-wa-ho, for years their head chief and the most eloquent and entertaining Indian orator of his times? Where are Wah-ti-an-gah, the good chief, and old Na-he-da-ba and Shon-ga-ne-gah, and other braves and wise men of the tribe?

They have passed over the trail for the last time, and live in peace on the rich ranges of the happy hunting-grounds.

No more they sit by council fires
 And praise the prowess of their sires.
 No dusky maiden now is seen;
 The valley blooms the hills between.
 Where once the Indian village shone,
 A city proud with spires has grown;
 Where once they chased the panting deer,
 Neosho's fields the farmers cheer.

On these visits they are carried back to those old days when this trail traversed the delightful little valleys and over the wide, expanding prairies, then untouched by man, but luxuriant with carpets of grass and decorated with indescribable loveliness of innumerable varieties of smiling flowers. They remember their old haunts and the beauties of those primitive scenes, just as they came from the hand of nature, and when it could be said:

"Breezes of the south! Ye have played
 Among the palms of Mexico and vines
 Of Texas, and have crisped the limpid brooks
 That from the fountains of Sonora glide
 Into the calm Pacific. Have ye fanned
 A nobler or lovelier scene than this?
 The hand that built the firmament hath heaved
 And smoothed these verdant swells and sown their slopes
 With herbage—a fitting floor
 For this magnificent temple of the sky—
 With flowers whose glory and whose multitude
 Rival the constellations."

A FAMOUS OLD CROSSING ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL.

From an address by GEO. P. MOREHOUSE,* of Council Grove, before the State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

THE great flood of 1903, which washed away the Main street bridge over the Neosho river at Council Grove, has called attention to this famous crossing of the old Santa Fe trail over that stream. This bridge marked the exact location, and the city has always preserved a convenient passway down the river banks to the fine rock-bottom ford, that stock and teams could go over in the old way. This is right in the center of the town, and has always been a splendid watering-place, noted as such long before the time of the white man.

The three spans of this bridge were destroyed on the night of May 28, 1903, when two-thirds of Council Grove were flooded by a sudden and protracted rise of the river, several feet higher than recorded by the oldest settler. The tradition of the Kaws, who lived here from 1847 till 1873, that "once the valley was washed from hills to hills" was verified, but no one dreamed of a wave of water high enough to carry off this strong structure and to flood every business house in the city. The Kaws used to tell of this tradition, and say "White man heap big fool to build big house near river," and for a time last spring we thought they were correct.

Nothing much remains of this bridge except the abutments and piers, which stand as mute monuments of not only the power of the highest water ever known, but also a very noted spot in the history of Kansas. The first structure was of heavy oak timber, sawed out of the original "council grove," and was built some forty years ago, and was for a time a toll-bridge, and known as the only bridge this far west in the state. When a boy, I remember the old oak bridge leaned fully two feet down stream before it was finally taken down. In early days it furnished a convenient scaffold from which to drop those sentenced to death by the court of Judge Lynch, which often held sessions here. The last execution to take place here was during the winter of 1866-'67. Jack McDowell was a noted horse-thief and outlaw from Missouri, and understood to have been with Quantrill at Lawrence and on other expeditions, but his career of crime came to an ignominious end at this spot. As a suspicious character he lounged

*GEORGE PIERSON MOREHOUSE was born at Decatur, Ill., July 28, 1859. His father, Horace Morehouse, is still living, at the age of 78, a retired merchant and farmer. He was one of the founders of the Republican party in Illinois. The mother was Lavinia F. Strong, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, a lineal descendant of Elder John Strong, who came from England in 1630, in the good ship Mary and John, and founded Northampton, Mass. The family came to Kansas in 1871, and opened a stock farm at Diamond Springs, in Morris county. George P. Morehouse started his life in the rough and tumble of ranch life. His first expense money for school-books was obtained from the sale of fur skins and wolf pelts. He went to Albion, New York, Academy, graduating in 1884, and he also became academic graduate of the University of New York. Here he won three prizes. He began the study of law in New York, but returned home, and managed the ranch for two years, which is still owned by himself and brother, finishing legal preparation at Council Grove. He was admitted to the bar in 1889, and served six years as city attorney of Council Grove and county attorney of Morris county. He was elected state senator from the twenty-third district, composed of the counties of Chase, Marion, and Morris. He is the author of the law making the sunflower the state flower, and of the first legislation regulating automobiles; an active advocate of manual training, and other reforms in our systems of education and taxation. He is a bachelor, of the law firm of Morehouse & Crowley, Council Grove, a member of the Presbyterian church, a Modern Woodman, and a Knight of Pythias.

around town for several days, and then stole the best span of horses in the valley. He was tracked into Nebraska by the owner, William Pollard, who took with him the sheriff of Morris county. They took no chances of delay, but brought him back without a requisition, a formality too slow for that time. To track a horse-thief or prairie outlaw then was far different than now, assisted as the officers are by thickly settled country, railways, telegraphs, telephones, and so many means of communication and interception.

McDowell seemed to have some confederates or friends right in town, who made a demonstration for his rescue and secretly furnished him with arms. It failed, however, and two well-known citizens were given "six hours to sell out, pack up, go, and never return," a frequent order by the mysterious "committee of safety." They promptly obeyed orders. While preparations were being made for "the preliminary," that he might be "bound over to the district court," he was confined in the old log guard-house. It was a long time to the spring term of court, and McDowell became so violent in his abuse and unspeakable execration of his captors, the town, and its leading citizens, whom he threatened with all kinds of vengeance in the future, and so openly boasted of his numerous killings, that it became unbearable "to the peace and quiet" of the old town. "After due deliberation," so called, it was thought best summarily to dispose of him and not wait for the next term of court to send him to the pen. This decision was hastened by rumors that some of his old-time friends were coming with a band of rescuers. One cold, bright moonlight Saturday night after business hours, the "inner council" of the committee of safety assembled as executioners and took him down Main street to the old bridge, with a convenient rope coiled around his neck. The loose end was properly fastened to an extended cross-beam, and McDowell was duly rolled off into eternity. When he saw that his end was near he became very meek and begged for delay, and confessed his many crimes as a heartless outlaw and thoroughly bad man that he was. His body was left hanging for a day from this prominent place, as a warning to others.

This old wooden structure was replaced by an iron bridge, which, having no walk-way, was converted into three country bridges, and the fine structure recently destroyed was erected. Since the May flood, the river has been crossed in the old way of early trail days, and frequently this summer was too high, and wagon and passenger traffic between east and west Council Grove has been carried on with much difficulty, giving good examples of the many trials experienced in overland teaming when this was one of the most noted highways in America.

The extremes to which men would go in old times to get their wagon-trains across this spot is noted in the following account recently related to me by an old-timer: Pawnee Bill was a rancher and freighter, and, with a long train of empty wagons going east, he was detained at this crossing by continued high water. Becoming restless at the delay, he ordered his men to chain all wagon-boxes to the gears and prepare to advance. The Mexican "greasers," not given to such violent baths, objected, and started a mutiny. He ridiculed them as cowards and children, and said "all such could crawl in the high wagons and ride, but brave men would ride and drive oxen or swim along with them," as he would.

He set the example by forcing the head outfit, a wagon drawn by five yoke of oxen, into the mad current, and arrived safely across. He was an expert swimmer, and would go along the side of the oxen, punching them and urging them on with terrific yells, now on one side, and would even dive under the floating mass and come up on the other side to urge them along. The entire train fol-

lowed, some "greasers" swimming, others riding oxen, and when the entire train reached the east side only two or three oxen were drowned. Many other trains were stopped that time by the high water, but none tried the strenuous method of fording adopted by Pawnee Bill. The best view of this old crossing is taken from the east abutment, looking west over the two piers and along Main street, which bears southwest about fifteen degrees, and which is a part of the original surveyed Santa Fe trail. This trail was used as a base line from which west Council Grove was platted, and hence all streets are "askew with the world." When the city was laid out a few rough log and stone structures had been erected along the trail, and they were thought to be too valuable to be disturbed.

The Daughters of the Revolution propose the worthy movement among the school children of the counties along this trail of marking by lasting monuments its course through the state. It is being obliterated in the grain counties, but through the large pastures of Morris and other counties, its sod-frozen washes, ruts and ridges are still plain. Main street of Council Grove and this old crossing over the Neosho are probably the most prominent, well preserved and permanent monuments along this noted thoroughfare. Several business places still stand which date back to the old days, when the long lines of white-covered, creaking, lumbering prairie schooners, drawn by oxen or mules, crossed the river at this point, and rolled past on their way to the far Southwest.

The first building to the left is the old trail blacksmith shop, right where the overland traffic swung up the hill into the broad street, of the last outfitting town and place where "store supplies" could be obtained. The next building to the left is the old hotel, substantially built of native lumber, oak frame and black walnut siding. The third story is an addition of this generation. For many years this was the most noted man hostelry from the Missouri river to Santa Fe. During those old trail days, and the great cattle drives of subsequent times, when vast herds of long-horn Texas cattle were driven through here, it was often the scene of noted events, dances, "social round-ups," "fandangoes," and the like, which early frontier belles and boys traveled many miles to attend. Many other quaint and celebrated business places still stand, relics of those palmy days when Council Grove was the second most important trading center in Kansas. To the right, set back from the street is the famous Hays building, also built of native lumber, and which in some way once stopped a great fire, after burning a half-block of brick stores. Up stairs was the public hall, where many noted old Kansans held forth, where court convened, and theatricals, which had ventured thus far west, turned back.

A block west of this crossing was the "pioneer store," recently changed some from its former odd proportions. It was a long, two-story stone building, with thick walls, and was the "last chance" to buy neglected supplies. Here the Kaws and other Indians traded buffalo-robcs, deer and wolf skins and other peltries for coveted things, and through its wide double doors the festive cowboys sometimes rode their ponies and traded with the astonished clerks. Here everything needed was kept, from a cambric needle to a complete frontier outfit, and every luxury could be obtained, from a cathartic pill to a cask of whisky. At this point people from the "effete East," who had foolishly worn "biled shirts" or sported stiff or plug hats, discarded these badges of luxury and purchased reliable soft sombreros and hickory or woolen shirts. If not, they met trouble, for it was a frequent custom to smash such hats down over a man's ears or shoot holes through the crown. This old crossing, camp-ground, grove and bridge were common and convenient places for meeting to exchange news, trade horses, sell cattle, outfit for the plains, and gather information upon all subjects from

the many travelers going east and west. A sort of bureau of general information and trail statistics was kept of those who passed, and even now passing suspicious characters are often noted and facts gained which lead to their destination and final capture. It was an abandoned horse and buggy crossing here at midnight a few years ago that gave the clue and led to the capture of that noted outlaw, mutineer, and murderer, Estelle.

As the number of passing wagons, oxen, horses, mules and tons of merchandise in the trains of the trail days was here noted and booked, so also this is the place even to-day where the length and character of modern parades and processions are counted and recorded. Few places in Kansas have a more favorable spot at which to congregate large crowds than this grove and crossing. For forty years some of Kansas' greatest political events have been held here; events of more than local importance, as either party could easily gather its devotees to this Mecca, even from surrounding counties. Spell-binders and sages of all political faiths have made this old camp-ground and grove echo with their eloquence. All of Kansas' old-timers have been here, and such noted outsiders as George Francis Train, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were here in one season. During later years some of these events have brought long processions over this crossing, and it has been the custom to measure the length and count the teams and persons passing, and it is considered an omen of victory to the political party managing the longest and most attractive display. The Democrats will always boast of the most costly, artistic and well-managed procession and spectacular display, when Judge John Martin was their candidate for governor.

The longest procession to pass here, and the one that caused Republicans the most anxiety, was when, on a cloudy and unfavorable day, Mrs. Lease, as the "Joan of Arc," and Senator Peffer, the "prophet of Populism," headed a parade, with banners galore, which, for two long hours, rolled down the street and crossed this bridge. It had been quietly worked up, for no previous advertising announced its coming; but it came—came in long and enthusiastic delegations—from Morris and adjoining counties, and was a prominent mark of the high tide of the political fervor of that party. In some respects, the grandest and most potent political event ever held here was on a favorable October day in 1891, an "off year," but one of remarkable political activity. It was known as a "rally and barbecue," and, while a Republican affair, was quite unique and unusual, in that the "straight-out" Democrats favored it, and to a degree participated in cooking the beef and helping in the entertainment. This was in recognition of the nomination by the Republican party of James Humphrey, of Junction City, for district judge. The "medicine made that day" and the good feeling prevailing, probably, were the cause of his election. Fully 10,000 people assembled—many from other counties—and for about an hour and a half a procession passed, which for enthusiasm and patriotic display could not have been excelled. Unlike the other procession, with its caustic and caricature banners which cut and hurt and rankled, this parade only displayed the stars and stripes, which decorated every horse, cart, wagon, carriage, and were held by every man, woman, and child. It presented a remarkable scene—a line of winding, rising and falling red, white, and blue, as far as the eye could reach. After a barbecue, which consumed several head of fat cattle and numerous hogs, besides great stacks of bread and barrels of coffee, ex-Gov. Geo. T. Anthony delivered the political address. Its earnestness, its logical reasoning, its clear and convincing presentation of the fundamental principles and powers of government, will never be forgotten, and had great influence upon the thousands who heard. At that



Famous crossing over the Neosho on the Santa Fe Trail, at Council Grove,
after the flood of 1903.

time he was five years ahead of his party, which arrived at his reasoning in the St. Louis platform of 1896, and adopted his arguments in that campaign. I mention it here because it was an eventful day in Kansas politics, an address which will long live as a political classic, and was delivered in this famous and historical spot by one whom some may not have admired, but all will admit had no superior in our Western country upon the stormy forum of public debate.

The recent flood, which destroyed the bridge at this crossing and submerged the town for a night and day, had such swift currents across this street that horse-carts were overturned and men and horses washed from their feet while on the way to the burning and floating lumber-yard and flooded and blazing buildings. To reach such a height and force, the river at this old ford had to be about twenty-five feet above ordinary water-mark.

There has been much speculation as to the earliest use of this crossing, but no one knows how far back it extends. While it is true that there was no Santa Fe trail till the white man made it, however, the old Indian traditions and other proofs clearly establish that, along parts of its very course, there was a pre-historic, well-marked and used highway to and from the Southwest. There are strong reasons for believing that back to the days of the mound builders this natural route was in use. It is well established that it was a common pathway for ancient Indian tribes hundreds of years ago. Many think that a part of Coronado's expedition crossed here in 1541, as pieces of chain mail and other ancient relics have been found near here. The first known man who camped at this crossing on his way to Santa Fe was La Lande, a French Creole; in the year 1804.

The year following, a man by the name of Purcell passed here bound for the same place. William Becknell, a Missouri trader, crossed this ford in 1821, with the first successful trading outfit that transported merchandise to the Mexican civilization of the Southwest.

There is record of three men, guided by a Spaniard named Blanco, who in 1809 went across to Santa Fe, and in 1817 Mr. Choteau, for many years afterwards a trader among the Kaws, covered the same route. He being at that time from St. Louis, the erroneous idea prevails that the first trading expeditions to Santa Fe over this route originated in that city. But to the old town of Franklin, in Howard county, Missouri, belongs the honor of fitting out the first trading expedition, which was the small pack-train of William Becknell, that made the journey in 1821.

The trading expedition of Augustus Storrs, of Franklin, Mo., who crossed here in 1824, and his elaborate report made to Senator Benton, regarding the trade possibilities with New Mexico and northern Old Mexico, stirred up Congress to make an appropriation for the survey and improvement of this avenue of coming "commerce of the prairies."

On the 10th day of August, 1825, right here under a monster old oak, "council oak," still standing, the United States commission and chief representatives of the powerful Osage nations met in council for several days, and made that treaty which led to the establishment of the Santa Fe trail and this crossing, and gave to this historic spot the name "Council Grove." During the same year, 1825, an expedition under Major Sibley commenced the survey, and for three years was engaged in formally laying out this highway and securing the proper concessions for its recognition. Within a few rods of this ford still stand some of the old giant oak trees, estimated to be over 200 years old, a part of the original "council grove," which for ages has been, and still is, the largest body of natural timber from here to the Rocky Mountains. This being the last timber crossing to Santa Fe, caravans carried a supply for repairs, which they hung in convenient

logs or timbers beneath their wagons, and sometimes they were carried to Santa Fe and back, when not used in repairing disabled wagons.

The first caravans to cross at this point were composed of pack-animals—Missouri mules. In 1824 a few wagons were successfully used. About 1830 the regulation high-box prairie-schooner was introduced. These wagons were drawn by from five to six yoke of oxen or as many mules, and had a capacity of about three tons. These trains numbered at times hundreds of wagons and several thousand animals, and thus thousands of tons of merchandise were transported. Is it any wonder this vast wagon commerce left an indelible mark on the plains or at a crossing like this?

This fine old forest of oak, hickory, walnut, and elm, with its abundance of wood and water, its shade and shelter, was a common gathering-place and council ground of the overland caravans westward bound, and the welcoming oasis, retreat and post of recuperation for the returning voyagers from the dust, heat, fatigue and dangers of the great plains, which, from this beautiful and protecting valley, stretched—

“In airy undulations, far away,
As if an ocean in its gentlest swell
Stood still, with all its rounded billows fixed
And motionless forever.”

It was here at this famous meeting-point, where parties assembled, organized their long caravans of wagons and pack-animals, and elected their train bosses and other officers to manage their future journey and enforce the “code of the plains,” which they had adopted and which governed. It was here, in 1842, that Marcus Whitman, that intrepid Presbyterian explorer and missionary, found shelter on his historic winter ride from Oregon to Washington, the most-noted long overland trip in American history; a ride that saved Oregon, now three states, as he arrived just in time to prevent Tyler and Webster from trading it (then thought to be “a worthless wilderness”) to the British for some fishing privileges. Whitman avoided the impassable snows of the middle Rockies by coming around South and striking this trail in New Mexico.

It was near this crossing of the Neosho, in July, 1846, that Colonel Doniphan and Sterling Price stopped and rested their regiments of Missouri volunteers on their way to the Mexican war. This march, from Leavenworth to the land of the Aztecs, 4000 miles, has no rival in the great marches of the world. The word “Neosho” means a river with water, so different from many Western rivers with their dry and sandy beds.

Over this crossing have passed most of the famous expeditions to the West and Southwest, and both man and beast, thirsty and famished, welcomed a river with water, and naturally lingered in the shelter of this favored spot.

This famous old crossing, with its rich traditions and historic interest, is right in the busy center of a growing Kansas town, and will always be marked by a large bridge and a convenient ford across its refreshing waters. This noted highway at this point has never been closed, but our broad Main street, through which poured that great overland commerce, and which once resounded with the creaking, groaning wagons, the tread of thousands of patient and faithful oxen and sturdy mules, accented by the emphatic imprecations of the drivers, is now lined with modern business houses, beautiful homes, and at night is made brilliant with electricity for a mile of its original course.

Multitudes cross here daily who never think of this historic ground or recall that primitive civilization of Indians, hunters and plainsmen, freighters, cow-

boys, and soldiers, who were the every-day actors of those strenuous times, and if they should remember that period of our historic past, they would probably say :

“Look now, abroad,
Another race has filled these borders ;
Wide the wood recedes, fertile realms are tilled,
The land is full of harvests and green meads.”

Years may come and go; the old “council oak” and the grove may wither, decay, and die; our present civilization may almost obliterate the Santa Fe trail and scatter its quaint and interesting relics, but as long as Main street of Council Grove endures, the course of this noted trail, the magnitude of its trade, will be indelibly marked on earth, and at no more interesting and historical spot than at this famous old crossing over the Neosho river.



Pioneer Store on Trail at Council Grove. Built in the early '50's.
Last chance for supplies.



Under this oak at Council Grove treaty was made with the Great and Little Osages
for right of way of Santa Fe Trail, August 10, 1825. Estimated
age of tree, 250 years.



Kaw Indian Mission at Council Grove. Erected in 1850.

PADILLA AND THE OLD MONUMENT NEAR COUNCIL GROVE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by GEORGE P. MOREHOUSE, Topeka.

IN approaching the quaint old town of Council Grove, whether overland or by rail, the traveler is almost sure to notice and inquire about a strange pointed monument crowning the summit of a prominent hill near by.

From certain directions it can be seen for several miles, for the top of the hill is several hundred feet above the lower bottom-lands of the Neosho valley. If we take the trouble to climb to the top, we are richly repaid; for we behold a magnificent scene of hill and valley, timber and prairie landscape, and realize that one of the most picturesque of Kansas views is spread out before us. We can range our vision for twenty miles or more up and down the valley; and toward the west the higher levels of the uplands—

“Stretch in airy undulations far away.”

Below us the darker shades of heavy timber line make a winding trail of green along the river valley, and the good old town of “The Grove” is snugly tucked away in the shelter of that famous body of timber that gave its name. By consulting a map we find that we are standing near the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of section 22, township 16, range 8 east, on the top of Mount Padilla.



The Padilla Monument.

Yes, here is the monument, rough, ancient, though symmetrical, which probably marks the sacred resting-place of America's first Christian martyr, Father Fray Juan de Padilla. In the year 1542, near this place, this pioneer missionary of the Cross gave his life at the hands of those he had come to serve and save.

The monument is about ten feet high, and is made of rough, uncut limestone. The base is about six feet square, composed of large stones, while the column is of smaller ones and gradually tapers to the top.

Formerly near the monument was a large pile of smaller stones of all kinds, colors and shapes, which had evidently been brought from a distance and reverently deposited as an offering or tribute to some noted personage or revered character. To one accustomed to primitive shrines and memorials it is evident that long, long ago, these simple offerings were brought to that which was regarded as a most sacred spot. Various causes in mod-

ern times have robbed this stone offertory and scattered its fragments. Unfortunately, many stones, great and small, have been carted away some of which had inscriptions of odd letters and hieroglyphics, the mystic symbols of the past. This custom was once followed by modern visitors, who have at times left their initials, but the ancient ones are gone. Located on the summit of this high elevation, its neat outlines projected against the sky, no matter from which direction approached, this crude shaft presents an imposing appearance.

Not far from the foot of the mount the clear waters of a never-failing spring start from the head of a winding ravine, forming a small rivulet. At certain seasons of the year the stream below the spring is hid beneath a thick mesh and luxurious growth of savory watercress, which is kept fresh, cool and green by the running waters. No one visits this spot without a desire to return and again experience the magic spell of the delightful scenery and sacred associations of this historic spot.

Notwithstanding its exposed position, this monument has withstood the grinding wear of time and the storms of centuries. In nature's effort of obliteration the elements have beaten relentlessly but hopelessly against it, and only vandal hands have at intervals desecrated its interesting features. At times a part of the top has been disturbed, but only to be replaced by kindly hands, that its original proportions might be preserved as they were when it was first viewed by the earliest traveler through that region.

There it stands—stands, like some lone sentinel of the ages—connecting the misty past with the living present, and is probably one of the oldest of American landmarks.

Who was this early Christian martyr, this herald of the Cross, who offered up his life, away out here in the interior of the continent, nearly two hundred years before our Pilgrim Fathers, as a—

“Band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore”?

From whence came this heroic saint, and what are the known circumstances of his venturing, in that early day, so far from civilization, to labor in his Master's cause?

Father Fray Juan de Padilla was a native of Andalusia, Spain. He was young and vigorous when he joined Coronado's expedition. His talents were of a high order, and he had occupied several important positions in Old Mexico. At one time he was guardian of a convent in Jalisco. He occupied this station when he became a missionary to the Indians in the far unknown North, the “terra incognita” of that day. This change caused much personal sacrifice on his part, for it involved giving up high positions in the church and turning his back on influential ecclesiastical offices and subjecting himself to hardship and death among the ignorant savages he longed to save. In faith he looked far beyond, to a time when the aborigines of the great American desert would become educated and converted to the religion he humbly taught. He was one of the four Franciscans who accompanied Coronado in his attempt to colonize New Mexico in 1540. The other three either returned to civilization or remained with tribes of Indians in New Mexico who were fairly friendly to their labors. While Fray Padilla was kind and gentle in his demeanor, yet he was full of energy, and punished all moral evil-doers who tried to make things unpleasant in Coronado's camp.

An iron constitution and impetuous soul greatly assisted him in stamping his influence upon all around him. At first he labored among the Moqui Pueblos, and they seem to have received him gladly. It seems that he also went among the Zunis, but rounded up at the winter quarters of Coronado, on the Rio Grande river, where the army rested before continuing the historic journey to the fabled Quivira.

It seems that the incentive to this adventurous expedition was furnished by the reports of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, the survivors of the ill fated Narvaez expedition. At Pecos Coronado became interested in certain stories of a captive Indian prisoner held as a slave who claimed that he was born on the far eastern border of the great plains. The Spaniards called this odd individual the Turk. This was on account of the method of dressing his head and hair, it being closely shaven, except a small tuft of hair left growing on the top of his head. In other words he had left his scalp-lock, after the manner of the Osage, Kansas and two or three other tribes, who dressed their hair in that manner. He probably belonged to one of those tribes. He represented to the Spaniards that far away in the east there was a rich country called Quivira. He told them that this people was rich in gold, silver and other precious metals, and had other elements of wealth. His representations made an impression upon the minds of the Spaniards, who believed all he said. It is now considered that the Turk, after he had observed that they placed reliance upon his statements, connived with the Pueblo Indians in a scheme to get rid of the Spaniards, by sending them far into the desert, where they would perish. The Turk was also planning for an opportunity to return to his tribe. The Spaniards believed his statements and expected to find a rich and wealthy country with cities and great stores of precious metals, and a class of half-civilized people. They had found the Mexicans using gold for ornaments and also knew of the reports of wealth from Peru. When the Turk pointed to gold, which he seemed to recognize as valuable, they thought that he was truthful; but he might have been mistaken, not knowing the difference between crude gold and copper and pyrites of iron—the latter frequently giving a valuable appearance to rocks. When the Pueblos observed their unwelcome guests departing they probably induced the Turk to misguide and lead them, if possible, to destruction. The expedition started out early in 1541 [on the 3d of May.] It is not the purpose of this paper to give an extended account of Coronado's expedition, except in so far as it is necessary to set forth the movements of the famous missionary Padilla. Coronado met with little opposition as he journeyed eastward.

Somewhere in the western or southern great plains he left the main body of his men, and with thirty horsemen went northward in search of Quivira, reaching the Kansas plains in the later days of June. Of course, to the Spanish, the expedition was a great disappointment. However, with what a limited vision did those historic gold-seekers view things? They little knew that the region they then passed over, although it might have looked like a great desert, was in many ways the garden spot of the West. They traversed what is now the richest portion of Oklahoma and the great wheat belt of Kansas, where, although precious metals form a small part of the wealth, yet the aggregate value of the millions of bushels of golden grain annually produced far outstrips the gold and silver productions of any state or country and the wildest dreams of Spanish avarice. It may be interest-

ing to gather and work out from the full reports just where Quivira was located. Several educated men were with Coronado and published accounts of their movements and all that they observed. These accounts are not only interesting in showing the condition and products of the country at the time, but are historically important, as they set forth things so minutely that the location of Quivira has been reduced to a certainty.

Padilla went with Coronado on his farthest wanderings to Quivira, and back to the Spanish settlement. The year following, 1542, he returned to Quivira to continue in the missionary work he had commenced. On these trips he always walked. On his last trip, after he had labored among the strange people for some time, he met his death, and thus became not only the first missionary of the Cross in the great Mississippi valley, but the first Christian martyr in what is now the United States of America. The fact of his work and his death in this then far-away wilderness is undisputed; but there may be some question as to just where he was killed and the exact location of his grave. After one studies all the different accounts of the Coronado expedition to Quivira and what is known of Fray Padilla's subsequent return to labor among that people, and his tragic death, it is easy to mark the borders of that country, and also substantially prove that he met his death near Council Grove, and that the before-mentioned memorial stone or monument on Mount Padilla probably marks his grave. The writer realizes that another place (Herington, Kan.) is claimed to be in the neighborhood of his last resting-place, and that his memory has been honored with a monument there. This is well, but they bring forth no proof of the claim.

Coronado, considering his expedition a failure, after resting for a time on the banks of the Rio Grande, left for Old Mexico; but Fray Juan Padilla and Fray Luis remained at the river with Andrés Docampo, a Portuguese soldier, two Donados, named Lucas and Sebastian, and some Mexican Indian boys. Padilla's zeal and courageous temperament urged him to return again across the waste of distance to the far-away Quivira. It was no concern to him that that country and its people did not possess the elements of wealth to satisfy the avaricious dreams of the Spaniards. These simple, primitive heathen had souls to save, and he remembered them and longed to return and establish the religion of the Cross in their midst—but what an undertaking it was for a lone priest and his three companions! Some time during the fall of 1542 he prepared for the journey of over 1000 miles, and taking with him the needed effects for saying mass, in company with his three companions, he set out on this unique trip. They were probably guided back to Quivira by some Indians who had accompanied Coronado the year before. Their course was more direct than Coronado's first route. They started from Bernalillo, on the river above the present Albuquerque, and passed through Pecos and to the northeast, probably entering our state near the southwest corner and proceeding on to the land of the Quiviras. They reached their destination in safety, and were well received by the Indian tribe they had visited the year before. Coronado had erected a cross at one of the villages, which is supposed to have been in the Smoky Hill valley, somewhere near where Junction City now stands. Padilla, from this starting-point, began his labors, and seems to have had great success and influence among those primitive people. However, after a time he decided to depart and work among some other tribes, or at least to visit them temporarily. This has always been considered an imprudent act on his part and came from

his not being skilled in the suspicious and jealous nature of the Indian. It has been said that "A missionary who has been well treated by one tribe always makes a mistake and is regarded with suspicion when he goes to another." The Indian nature regards the missionary who attains influence over them with great reverence, really superstition, and believes him to be a great Medicine man, and whatever good he brings departs when he leaves them.

Castenada says: "A friar named Juan de Padilla remained in this province, together with a Spanish-Portuguese and a negro and a half-blood and some Indians from the province of Capothan [Capetlan], in New Spain. They killed the friar because he wanted to go to the province of the Guas, who were their enemies. The Spaniard escaped by taking flight on a mare, and afterwards reached New Spain, coming out by way of Panuco. The Indians from New Spain who accompanied the friar were allowed by the murderers to bury him, and then they followed the Spaniard and overtook him. This Spaniard was a Portuguese named Campo."¹

It seems from other accounts that after leaving the Quivirans to labor among other tribes, and after more than one day's journey, Padilla met evil-disposed Indians of the nation he was leaving. They had probably followed him for a double purpose: First, they were jealous because he was going to other tribes who were enemies of the Quivirans; and, second, the curious ornaments and belongings Padilla had with him excited their cupidity. They desired to possess them, believing they had mysterious powers (good medicine), and they disliked all of this to be transferred to their enemies.

It is fairly well established that the center of Quivira was near the present site of Junction City or Enterprise. More than one day's journey would bring Padilla as far as Council Grove, about thirty-five miles distant.

The enemies of the Quivirans (Pawnees) in those days were the Escansaques (Kansa), according to the account of Oñate, who met them during his expedition to Quivira in 1601. He says they were hereditary enemies.

The Kansa lived to the southeastward of Quivira, and Padilla would naturally leave the valley along which that nation lived and could easily reach the headwaters of the Neosho, and that valley would present a plain route upon which to travel. Doubtless he was on his way to the early ancestors of the Kansa nation when he was killed. But—strange circumstance—when followed and killed by the jealous Quivirans, he had reached a spot which afterwards became the long-occupied home of the very tribe he was trying to reach, the Kansa.

May it not be that this is the reason this tribe always regarded this spot, his grave monument, as sacred to the memory of some great white medicine man, "Nic-kah-ma-kah-tan-gah-skah"; that in some way they knew of his mission; that he had been cruelly slain by their enemies, the Quivirans (Pawnees), while on his way to scatter the blessings of his saintly life along the pathway of the Kansa nation?

But it was not to be, and the good father never lived to see the faces of that nation he was seeking to serve and save.

While there are different versions of just how Padilla met his death, I think that the weight of authority shows that he was killed by the Quivirans, although they might have tried to make it appear that their enemies killed him. It is said that when he saw the evil intentions of his murderers

he urged his companions to escape, while he serenely faced the charging savages, and met his death in the attitude of prayer. One of the accounts speaks of his body being covered with a pile of "innumerable stones." This surely corresponds with the place near Council Grove, and these "innumerable rocks" were finally formed into this crude but picturesque monument. After much inquiry and search during many years past, I know of no artificial pile of stone in the state as large as this one, which dates back of the memory of man and is known to have been in existence long before white men or Indians of modern times visited or occupied this part of Kansas. To even the casual observer it appears to be an ancient memorial of some kind, an old sacred spot, with an almost hidden history. It has been understood that he was killed near some springs. Near the foot of this mount, in the ravine near by, are the well-known Watercress springs above described.

The following is a fragmentary account of this missionary expedition of Father Padilla as told by the writer, Moto Padilla.*

"He reached Quivira and prostrated himself at the foot of the cross, which he found in the same place where he had set it up; and all around it clean, as he had charged them to keep it, which rejoiced him, and then he began the duties of a teacher and apostle of that people; and finding them teachable and well disposed, his heart burned within him, and it seemed to him that the number of souls of that village was but a small offering to God, and he sought to enlarge the bosom of our mother, the Holy Church, that she might receive all those he was told were to be found at greater distances. He left Quivira, attended by a small company, against the will of the village Indians, who loved him as their father.

"At more than a day's journey the Indians met him on the warpath, and knowing the evil intent of those barbarians, he asked the Portuguese that as he was on horseback he should flee and take under his protection the oblates and the lads who could thus run away and escape. . . . And the blessed father, kneeling down, offered up his life, which he had sacrificed for the winning of souls to God, attaining the ardent longings of his soul, the felicity of being killed by the arrows of those barbarous Indians, who threw him into a pit, covering his body with innumerable stones. . . . It is said that the Indians had gone out to murder the blessed father in order to steal the ornaments, and it was remembered that at his death were seen great prodigies, as it were the earth flooded, globes of fire, comets and obscuration of the sun."

General Davis in his *Conquest of New Mexico*, page 231, gives the following translation from an old Spanish manuscript at Santa Fe:

"When Coronado returned to Mexico he left behind, among the Indians of Cibola, the father fray Francisco Juan de Padilla, the father fray Juan de la Cruz, and a Portuguese named Andres del Campo. Soon after the Spaniards departed, Padilla and the Portuguese set off in search of the country of the Grand Quivira, where the former understood there were innumerable souls to be saved. After traveling many days they reached a large settlement in the Quivira country. The Indians came out to receive them in battle array, when the friar, knowing their intentions, told the Portuguese and his attendants to take to flight, while he would await their coming, in order that they might vent their fury on him as they ran. The former took flight, and placing themselves on a height within view, saw what happened to the friar. Padilla awaited their coming upon his knees, and when they arrived where he was, they immediately put him to death. . . . The Portuguese and his attendants made their escape, and ultimately arrived safely in Mexico, where he told what had occurred."

The Portuguese and the boys wandered for years before reaching the Span

* Moto Padilla, cap. XXXIII, secs. 8, 9 and 10, p. 167, quoted by Winship in Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau Ethnology, pp. 535-536.

ish settlements, and it is unfortunate that more is not known of their history. They must have returned prior to 1552, as their arrival at Tampico on the Gulf is mentioned by Gomara in his *Conquest of Mexico* published that year.²

Much more would be known about Padilla and those early expeditions into Kansas, had it not been for the foolish destruction of great piles of invaluable historical manuscripts at Santa Fe a few years ago, where they were used to kindle fires and the remnant finally sold for junk.³

As before suggested, I believe that there was a lingering idea in the mind of the Kansa to pay some tribute to the monument and the place it marked—a kind of traditional reverence or homage for something they did not quite understand, but to some one whom they knew had been a would-be benefactor. While they buried many of their dead on the second-bottom slopes below the monument during their many years' stay at Council Grove, yet it must be remembered that this monument existed long before the Kansa Indians moved from the Kaw valley to their Council Grove reservation; and that they never claimed that it was their monument or marked the grave of an Indian chief; but that it was the marker for a great white benefactor or medicine man.

The first white traveler across the plains took notice of this high prominence and its curious monument. Approaching the famous old crossing of the Santa Fe trail over the Neosho from either direction, it could be seen for several miles. Some old-timers used to call it a guide, although it was a mile or more from the trail. This tended to give it rather a modern aspect, but it is known that it antedates anything pertaining to that noted highway. When a boy I thought that it possibly had a trail significance; but when I found that it was there before trail days, and before the Kansa Indians were moved there, and that it had a mysterious influence on the Indian mind, I could see that it marked the grave of some noted character who had been lost to modern historians.

Years afterwards, reading about Coronado and his expedition, and especially regarding the saintly Padilla, who had been with Coronado and then returned upon that first religious mission to the Indians of our great central plains, I began studying the matter, and the more I read and studied the Spanish translations and comments upon Padilla and his mission, I became convinced that there is no other reasonable hypothesis than that the first Christian martyr of our country was killed near the present Council Grove, and that this curious old monument marks his grave.

It may be asked, How could the Kansa Indians have any traditions reaching back to the time of Coronado or Padilla?

They had legends that related circumstances of the flood over the whole earth. They told of a time when their ancestors came from "the great sea near the rising sun," from whence came their mysterious sacred shells, although this migration was doubtless long prior to 1500.

NOTE 2.—Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 14, page 401.

NOTE 3.—Gen. W. H. H. Davis, former governor of New Mexico, stated in reply to an inquiry that when he revisited Santa Fe, a few years ago, he learned that one of his successors in the post of governor of the territory, having dispaired of disposing of the immense mass of old documents and records deposited in his office by the slow process of using them to kindle fires, had sold the entire lot—an invaluable collection of material bearing on the history of the Southwest and its early European and native inhabitants—as junk.—Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 535.

The translations of Spanish manuscripts is proving beyond doubt that the Kansa were here in our state long prior to 1601, when met by Juan de Oñate, who called them Escansagues, the troublesome people, for they at that early day were making their annual raids on the Quivirans, they being hereditary enemies. If they were hereditary enemies of the Quivirans in 1601, they were doubtless their enemies fifty or sixty years before that time, or at the time that Padilla went on his mission to the Quivirans, when he lost his life in attempting to carry the story of the Cross to their enemies. As has been suggested before, it may be reasonably presumed that these enemies were the Escansagues, or, as later known, the Kansa Indians, to which Padilla was going when the jealous and disappointed Quivirans killed him.

What a change it might have wrought in the general character of the Kansa had Padilla reached them and labored in their midst for years. Even the thoughtless Quivirans, after killing this holy man, seemed to have relented when they remembered his kindly acts in their behalf. While their cruel act would prevent his going to erect crosses among their enemies, it would not bring him back to perform services in the shadow of those he had set up in their midst.

One account says that the Quivirans even permitted his companions to bury his body in a decent manner. What an impressive scene it must have been to these savages of the plains, when the two oblates, Lucas and Sebastian, his faithful pupils, clad as they were "in friar's gowns," tenderly laid away their devoted teacher in that lonely martyr's grave midway between the great oceans! What a subject for the brush of an artist, as they perform a brief service according to the rites of their church and place the first courses in that crude monument which has lasted to this day! Sorrowfully these religious youths hasten from the scene, overtake the Portuguese, and together they commence that remarkable period of several years' wandering. Part of the time they are thought to have been in captivity, but finally they reach the Gulf of Mexico. It is said that during all of this journey they were followed by a faithful dog, and the rabbits and game he caught often saved their lives.

During this trip they made a rude cross of wood, and took turns in carrying it, faithfully observing the religious admonitions of their superior they had left behind, "trusting that in such company they would not go astray."

Sebastian died soon after their return; Lucas became a missionary to the natives of New Mexico.

It is well to preserve the history of first things in Kansas, to note the ancient landmarks, and above all to dwell upon the bold, heroic characters who first trod our borders. Let us not infer that the life of Padilla and his tragic death was without its powerful influence for good, or that this crude monument is without its lessons. Let it ever remind us of the devoted and consecrated life of America's first Christian martyr, and also of the lines of Owen Merideth:

"No stream from its source
Flows seaward, how lonely so e'er its course,
But some land is gladden'd. No star ever rose
And set without influence somewhere. Who knows
What earth needs from earth's lowliest creatures?
No life
Can be pure in its purpose, and strong in its strife,
And all life not be purer and stronger thereby."

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